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Racialism and the Peace Conference

N any discussion, however necessarily brief and unavoidably superficial, having its centre in, and drawing its interest from, Racialism, some attention must needs be paid to the past history of that principle. All forms of growth have their appropriate analogies, and the story of each growth will generally be found to derive no small part of its significance and doctrinal value from those of the others. This is particularly true of the political world, in which the originals of particular precepts, cults, and institutions are so closely associated the one with the other, that nothing is more difficult than exactly to determine their several beginnings.

The principle of Racialism is no exception to this universal rule. Needless to say it is no new thing. It is at least as old as the colonisation by man of those hills of which we are apt to speak as "eternal," an epithet which carries to our minds the idea of extra-



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ordinary antiquity as much as it does that of everlasting existence. Who is there, therefore, that pretends to say how old Racialism is? What man of us can assign it a definite original? All that we are at liberty to do is, to search authentic history for its first unmistakable manifestations within the limits imposed on us by reason of those very boundaries. We know that Athens was animated by a desire to augment and strengthen the ties that bound her plantations to herself. The basis of this strong sentiment was partly civic, partly racial, and partly cultural. It seemed to the Athenian mind a natural and a becoming thing that Greek should meet Greek, in the sense that cordial relations should exist between the "mother-country" and her plantations abroad. In this sentiment, and the political cult to which it gave rise, we are at liberty to look, not indeed for the first beginnings of Racialism (which, probably, will never be discovered to us), but for its earliest manifestations, so far as these can be collected from the authentic history of what is called the "classical world." It is to the Greeks, then, that we are indebted for this, as we are for many another idea in the world of ethics, politics, literature, and the plastic arts. The Pan-Greeks were, in a sense, the true forerunners of the Pan-Slavs, the Pan-Germans, the Pan-Anglo-Saxons, etc., of our own times.

There is another topic to which, in approaching this question of Racialism, due regard must be had, if we desire to do it even elementary justice. The subject at which I here glance is that of the great International Congresses of modern European history.

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It is essential that we should get in touch with these, if we wish to understand somewhat of the psychology underlying, and characterising throughout, President Wilson's recent Peace Rescript. It is easy to connect that remarkable utterance with the previous story of the Racial idea, and, further, to draw those conclusions from it which are sanctioned by a knowledge of the proceedings that took place on the occasion of the important gatherings to which I refer. In this respect, the great Conference of Münster, begun five years before, and concluded in 1648, will first claim our attention, as being the earliest example with which we need here trouble ourselves of a great international gathering, convened for the express purpose of settling the peace of Christendom. There will be found in Lorimer's *Institutes* a lively and entertaining account of that famous Conference, according as the latter presented itself to the mental vision of the sound and accomplished jurist I have named. I am about to quote from it here, for two reasons, one being that its author was a Scotsman, the other being, that it contains matter which I could not myself hope to present in so agreeable and striking a manner.

The rudeness (he says) of the machinery employed for international purposes, when we examine it closely, is appalling; and it is little wonder if the work which it turns out should be clumsily adjusted and insecurely put together. When the Treaty of Münster was negotiated all the States of Europe, except England, Poland, Muscovy, and the Ottoman Porte, were present by representatives, and questions of etiquette were discussed with so much keenness as greatly to impede the despatch of business. Six whole years before the plenipotentiaries met were passed in frivolous controversies on points of form, yet no attempt whatever was made to determine the measure of real influence which should be conceded to the various

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States when they came together. During the five years that the Congress lasted, Münster and Osnabruck were scenes of intrigue, misrepresentation, mutual distrust, bullying, and bribery such as the world has rarely witnessed, and which contrast painfully with the serious purpose which, on the whole, was prevalent, and the important and lasting results which were unquestionably obtained. But no arrangement for ascertaining the real opinion—of getting at the rational will of the Congress—was adopted, or even attempted.

Vae Victis! That harsh and unconscionable cry of the Conqueror has resounded through the ages, and in *Vae Parvis!* I suggest a fellow to it, inspired by an equally unjust and overbearing spirit. The latter might well have been raised, if only for the purpose of shaming the devil, at the Munster Congress, at which the situation of the Small States was pitiable in the extreme. It was only by siding with one or other of the great Powers, or by threatening, in the event of war being renewed of leaguings against them, that the Small States succeeded in making their presence felt—so little were abstract right and justice regarded by a Congress which the French writer, Hauterive, considered as the author of a complete adjustment of the interests of Europe as they then existed! Needless to say, too, the "lasting peace" which the Treaty of Westphalia was expected by some to bring to Europe failed to mature. No peace based on victory, or dictated by considerations in which the interests, ambitions, jealousies, and rivalries of a few great Powers are the paramount factors can possibly endure for any great length of time. Nor is such a peace to be regarded otherwise than as sowing the seeds, and preparing the way, for future wars.

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The great treaties that followed that of Münster or Westphalia, as that peace is indifferently styled, were more in the nature of temporary political accommodations than they were settlements possessing at all events a groundwork of purely humanitarian spirit and purpose. Such considerations hardly entered into the calculations of the statesmen and diplomats who engineered the great peace of Rhyswick in 1697, nor did they, apparently, occur to the councils, though it is possible they may have done so to the minds, of those who were responsible for the famous Treaty of Utrecht. Indeed, all the great political international accommodations of the eighteenth century bear a strictly political character; and to this cause we may safely ascribe the fact that the lives of none of them was remarkable for longevity. Rather were they armed truces than treaties of peace. As "breathing-spaces" in which to prepare for the renewal of war they admirably illustrate the exigencies and the temporary shifts to which those who subscribed them were reduced, in the hope of disappointing an enemy and improving their own situation; but for the humanitarian, as for the student of Racialism, they present no interesting features whatsoever.

The Congress of Vienna is the next great international assembly which claims our attention. This began to sit on 3rd November, 1814; and it was inevitable, if not natural (considering the material of which it was composed), that some of the great ideals released by the French Revolution should tincture its proceedings, so far, at all events, as these partook of the character of ante-chamber gossip and back-stair

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whisperings. In his *Mémoire* to Metternich, dated 12th February, 1815, Geutz, however, throws a strong and lurid light on the real purpose of the Congress.

The grand phrases (he writes) of "reconstruction of social order," "regeneration of the political system of Europe," "a lasting Peace" founded on a just division of strength," etc., etc., were uttered to tranquilise the people, and to give an air of dignity and grandeur to this solemn assembly; but the real purpose of the Congress was to divide amongst the conquerors the spoils taken from the vanquished.

The labours of the Congress were unceremoniously interrupted by the flight of Napoleon from Elba, but its proceedings were renewed as soon after the defeat and overthrow of the Emperor at Waterloo as the political state of Europe admitted of. The interval, however, short though it was, proved long enough to enable the Congress as a whole thoroughly to purge itself of any taint of liberalism which the circumstances attending its first meetings, conjoined with the spirit and temper of the occasion that necessitated the gathering, might have caused it originally to contract. It confirmed the partition of Poland; made a present of Venice to Austria; humoured Prussia with a large slice of Saxony; joined Belgium to Holland (contrary to the inclinations of both peoples); gave Genoa to Piedmont; boxed the political compass so as to privilege Austria at the expense of the unity of Germany; and, in fine, went about to set a "lasting peace" on foot, very much as, at the end of the present war, we may expect the victors, whoever they may be, to carry out the same purpose, unless they are timeously prevented from sowing the seeds of yet another European War.

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The Treaty of San Stefano (1878), which brought the war between Russia and Turkey to an end, possesses some interest for the student of national and racial politics, though that peace was the result of an agreement between the belligerents alone.¹ The war was avowedly undertaken for the emancipation of the Balkan States, and was engaged in by the Tsar with the utmost reluctance and hesitation. The Russian people, however, were bent on it; and if the Russian treatment of Bulgaria accorded ill with the liberal notions on which the struggle was officially declared to be based, we should ascribe that melancholy result, not to the failure of the Russian people themselves to correspond with their professions, but to the action of the ruling classes of that country, whose aims were conquest, and not emancipation. That the Treaty of San Stefano was set aside by the rest of the Powers is an event about which no one need be unduly lachrymose. The racial basis of the war disappeared almost as soon as it was begun; and the Pan-Slavs, who began by preaching liberty, freedom, justice, and humanitarian racialism, finished by discovering themselves to all Europe in their true colours—as greedy plunderers and intolerant oppressors, whose one idea was to conquer and annex, in place of liberating and respecting in others that right to autonomy which they claimed for themselves. In fine, “Wars of Emancipation”

¹ Russia professed to go to war on this occasion in behalf of the “nascent struggling nationalities” of the Balkan Peninsula, an idea which was flouted by many who remembered Lord Lyndhurst’s words, which stigmatised Russia as “this enemy of all progress, except that which tends to strengthen and consolidate her own power.”

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are, generally speaking, disappointing affairs, regarded from the standpoint of our common humanity; and doubtless, many would hold that cynic fully justified of his spleen who should affirm that self-interest dictates them, and that ambition and lust of power are the presiding geniuises that dominate their closing scenes.

The Congress of Paris, held in 1856, is the nearest approach to an international legislative assembly in our day; and I again have recourse to the *Institutes* as supplying the best summary of its temper and achievements which is known to the present writer.

Its affairs (says Lorimer) were conducted on the same principle, or want of principle, as those of Münster and Vienna. The conclusions arrived at were supposed to be the result of general agreement, and were accepted as permanent, in the only sense in which that word can be used in positive law. Yet we all know for how short a time the leading provision for the neutralisation of the Black Sea continued to form part of the public law of Europe, and how practically useless was an "agreement" in which the will of so important a power as Russia, and, as it turned out when the Conference was held in London in 1871, that of Germany also, had been counted for nothing. So far from a transaction binding on Europe, and which Europe was prepared to fulfil, it was a mere expression of the wishes of France, England, and Turkey, to which Europe was willing to accede till a convenient occasion should arise for setting it aside.

Those who are interested in "Scraps of Paper," as those who believe in the possibility of founding "lasting peace" on a basis of victory, would do well to take thought by the history of the Congress of Paris. Arising out of its circumstances and consequences, the pregnant question will naturally occur to our minds:—"When does a Scrap of Paper cease to be a

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Scrap of Paper?" in the sense that the vindication of the terms it bears ceases to be obligatory on the consciences of all who have assisted to place them there. Can it really be, in spite of all that we have recently heard on the subject, that might and self-interest, and not right and a lofty and an indiscriminating regard for the sanctity of international agreements, dictate the conclusion, and condition the fulfilment, of treaties between nations?

It is now necessary that I should make a few observations touching such schemes for the direct solution of the problem of international organisation as have preceded President Wilson's peace proposals, and which constitute the more important part of the extensive literature dealing with that subject. My remarks on this head must necessarily be brief. For a more detailed, and otherwise improved, summary of the literature at which I here glance, the reader is advised to consult the second volume of Lorimer's *Institutes*, to which work I am myself principally indebted for the following particulars.

Of all such schemes for the settlement of Christendom on the basis of a "lasting peace", that attributed to Henry IV. of France, by his great minister Sully, is, probably, the best known. While not devoid of many admirable features, this particular plan was vitiated by reason of the circumstance that its fulfilment was based on the contingency of the dismemberment of the German Empire. Thus, not only was it inspired and dictated by a motive of self-interest, which rendered it, therefore, unworthy to be accepted as a "final settlement" of the problem which it was designed with a view to

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solving, but this further weighty disability characterised it, namely, that the contingency aimed at, and on which the whole scheme's fruition entirely depended, was *ultra vires*, as regards the agents to whom its consummation was intended to be entrusted. Who was to bell the cat? That was the thorny problem that confronted Henry, Sully, and the English Queen Elizabeth; and since, apparently, no satisfactory answer was ever returned to that very pregnant question, we are at liberty to believe that the failure to provide one was the first cause of the collapse of Sully's scheme. "Its adoption," says Lorimer, "would have been a proclamation of universal war"—hardly an encouraging beginning for a device which professedly aimed at the establishment of everlasting peace.

A project of a cognate nature was that formed and published by the Abbé St.-Pierre, whose contribution to the literature of our subject is entitled *La Paix Perpétuelle*. His principal aim was "a perpetual alliance, which should be established between the members of the European League, or Christian republic, for their mutual security against both foreign and civil war, and for the mutual guarantee of their respective possessions, and of the treaties of peace concluded at Utrecht." This scheme made a good deal of noise in its day, and deservedly so, for notwithstanding that it bristled with difficulties, and contained not a few glaring absurdities (of which not the least was its title), yet in many ways it was both a noble and inspiring composition. "For certain purposes," however, says Lorimer, "it required a unanimous

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consent, which can never be attained in any deliberative body, except by means which negative the idea of honesty or of freewill, and consequently of consent altogether, in some of the members."

In 1761, Rousseau published a criticism which bore the title of *Extrait du Project de Paix Perpétuelle, de M. l'Abbé de St.-Pierre*. In this work the Abbe's theme was taken up and expatiated on in the light of those humanitarian doctrines with which the name of that undisciplined and ill regulated genius is imperishably associated. Amid much in this project that is plainly impracticable and purely fantastical there will, however, be found enunciated this solemn and profound truth, that "A very superficial view of political societies will be sufficient to convince us that the greater part of their imperfections springs from the necessity of devoting to their external security those cares and those means which ought to have been devoted to their internal development." In other words, the money now squandered upon armaments and the prosecution of the "militarist" idea would, were it devoted to the improvement of Education and the prosecution of the arts of peace in general, result in the establishment of that state of enduring concord whose advent it was the object of Rousseau's publication to hasten. It is unnecessary here to enter into a detail regarding the causes that led to the failure of that writer's scheme. It was Rousseau's own, which is, perhaps, sufficient to account for its general impracticability.

In his *Metaphysics of Law* (published in 1797) Kant published, under the well-worn title of *La Paix*

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Perpétuelle, a notable proposal for a Confederation of Free States. "Nations," he says, in the course of that treatise, "must renounce, as individuals have renounced, the anarchical freedom of savages, and submit themselves to coercive laws ; thus forming a community of nations which may ultimately extend so as to include all the people of the earth." Issuing from such a source, this important contribution to the community of ideas embracing the project of the establishment on earth of an everlasting peace was necessarily received with the utmost respect, and applauded and approved almost as much as it was read and debated. It is, undoubtedly, the most weighty contribution to the literature of the subject of which it treats, which learning and letters, conjoined with a zealous and penetrating love of humanity, have yet vouchsafed us. It remains the standard exposition of the great theme with which it deals ; and if, in passing, I venture the following criticism on it, I think my remarks will be found to apply equally to any similar undertaking, whose ideals are in sharp contrast with the existing state of society. Kant says that " Nations must renounce, as individuals have renounced, the anarchical freedom of savages, and submit themselves to coercive laws." Here he is plainly begging the question. The philosopher's " must " is the crux of the whole problem ; and until society as a whole voluntarily submits itself to the discipline implied by that " must," to postulate its existence is manifestly absurd. Education alone—which is a gradual process—can cause that " must " to come to pass. We should strive, then, not so much for Plato's " world of philosophers ", but for a state of

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society in which common intelligence and love of humanity shall be supreme.

The last of these schemes for settling the affairs of the nations on a basis of enduring peace, with which we need here concern ourselves, is that fathered by the great founder of English philosophic Radicalism, Jeremy Bentham. The scheme in question was composed between the years 1786 and 1789, although it was not published till after Bentham's death in 1832. In that writing, the author boldly advocated universal disarmament. "The moral feelings of a man in matters of morality (he writes) are still so far short of perfection, that, in the scale of estimation, justice has not yet gained the ascendancy over force." And then, turning to address his own countrymen more particularly, he says, "Truth, and the object of this essay, bid me to say to my countrymen, it is for you to begin the reformation—it is you that have been the greatest sinners." If Bentham expected the immediate fulfilment of his scheme, it is plain that he reckoned entirely without his host, in the sense that his plan contained no provision for the enforcement of its terms, and its not only possible, but probable, contingencies. Public Opinion was to take the place of the legislative and executive functions of the State. "There might, *perhaps* (he says) *be no harm* (the italics are mine) in regulating, as a last resource the contingent to be furnished by the several States for enforcing the decrees of the Court." But is it not the Policeman behind the law, who, in the "last resource", ensures that proper respect and obedience shall be paid to it?

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In fine, like most of Bentham's writings, this particular one suffers from its distinguished author's love of "philosophising" under circumstances wherein a strict regard for fact should have warned him of the danger of indulging a humour so ill calculated to serve the ends he had in view.

The reader who is not familiar with the subject should be able to collect from the few particulars I have given above, some little useful information touching the ancestry of President Wilson's aspirations with regard to the establishment of a "lasting peace." An analysis of that literature more detailed than I am here able to give should undoubtedly reveal the fact that the whole of Mr. Wilson's peace programme has been at some time or other anticipated, so far as the spirit and the letter characterising its principal articles are concerned. But if it indeed be true that there is nothing new under the sun, and that, therefore, the President's proposals cannot be regarded otherwise than as so many strong reflexions of preceding propositions of a similar character, his merit is not to be esteemed the less by reason of that circumstance. Mr. Wilson's virtues may be, and doubtless are, many; but that one of legion which, in the critical and melancholy times in which we live, will draw more men to him than any other, and will receive their warmest applause and excite their greatest admiration is, I venture to think, that he has the courage of his convictions. To the best of my belief, the President of the United States is the first great modern ruler that has proposed the pacification of Christendom in accordance with a scheme which

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bears no trace of self-interest, personal and national bias and ambition, or any similar unworthy motive. Love of humanity and justice, conjoined with a singular tenderness as regards the political status of those unfortunate peoples which we are nowadays accustomed to class as "small," would appear to have dictated it, from first to last. Emphatically is his Rescript one of humanity's great "documents." True, its ideals may be indifferently snubbed and ridiculed at the present time by many. Hereafter, too, the Shallows and Tadpoles of militarism may concert together to overthrow it, or, at all events, so to "dilute" its capital provisions as to render their observance not altogether incompatible with the simultaneous prosecution of their own anti-social aims and uncivilising employment. History, and our knowledge of mankind, teach us that, when the world is sick, the angelic status is apt to assume attractions in its eyes which a return to rude health is no less apt to dissipate. In a sense, and in a measure, it is probable that Mr. Wilson's present proposals will suffer from the future attentions of a world less inclined to act up to its professions than well-merited misfortune has caused it to be so at the existing conjuncture of affairs. Nevertheless, President Wilson's proposals *have come to stay*. The world, as a whole, will not easily or readily release its hold on them. We may confidently trust Democracy, the universe over, to see to that; and those rulers will be wise who seasonably accept the latest version of the old Gospel in the spirit in which it has been proffered, and mend their manners, and adjust their policies, accordingly.

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Doubtless, the reader will not have failed to observe that, whilst President Wilson's peace proposals are based on a full recognition of the principle of Nationality, they do not treat of Race and Racialism, which are somewhat different things. In this particular respect the head of the Government of the United States would appear to have been as much bound by precedent as he has been clearly so touching the general lines on which his proposals are cast. Race and Racialism are not considerations that tinged the minds, or, if I may so express myself, winged the words of any one of the various publicists who heretofore have laboured to promote the cause of enduring peace and good-will among the nations of the earth. With them, as with President Wilson, the nation is the rock on which the new universe is to be erected, as it is the guiding principle determining at once the character and the size of the structures which are to be raised on that foundation. The neglect, or omission, to which I refer may appear not a little singular to some, especially, perhaps, to those who have studied, let us say, the ethnographical conditions obtaining in the artificial State of Belgium (and the state of political tension to which neglect of them has given rise), or who have devoted some attention to the study of "near Eastern" politics, and, as a result of their enquiries into the public affairs of that part of Europe, are convinced that no solution of its political problems that is not racial, or at all events approximately so, can reasonably be expected to have a satisfactory event. Fortunately, the war, which is already responsible for a vast literature, has not left this subject of Racialism in politics

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entirely untouched. It is interesting, and not a little provocative of thought, to find that the home of Mazarin, and the great mediaeval nurse of the science of modern politics—Italy—has been, of all the European Kingdoms, the most fruitful of suggestion in this connection. Several interesting papers have been published in the leading Italian magazines, the *Nuova Antologia*, *Vita Italiana*, *l'Italico*, and the *Rassegna Nazionale* being among those periodicals which have published serious contributions to the literature of the European Races and Racialism, considered as political forces. The example set by the Italian periodical Press in this respect, though doubtless it has not surprised, yet cannot but immensely gratify those who, like the present writer, are profound admirers of Italian political astuteness, alertness of mind, and fertility of invention.

As, in many cases, the Race is by no means conterminate with the Nation, it is obvious that the difficulties of providing for a due observance of the racial principle are much more numerous and more formidable than are those that obstruct the path leading to a Europe reconstituted on the basis of a full and frank recognition of the purely national principle. Nevertheless, great though those obstacles are in one case, and considerable though they undoubtedly are in both, yet let us not go about, as some do, to create for ourselves artificial and quite avoidable difficulties by insisting on a "Scientific" definition of "Race" as an indispensable preliminary to any attempt to treat of political Europe from the racial point of view. The "Nation" is still without a settled definition, so far as Science is concerned; and there is no good reason why refinement

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and pedagogy should be humoured and indulged in one field of enquiry, whilst, in the other, the conventional standards are everywhere accepted without serious cavil or question. Besides, the conventional ideas of Race are the only ones to which we can reasonably have recourse on occasions such as the present, Science being, as yet, utterly unable to make up its mind as to what exactly constitutes Race. Meantime, however, Science seeks refuge in the axiom enunciated by Topinard, that such a thing as a "pure" race no longer exists—a fact which, of itself, obliges us to fall back on convenient, if faulty, labels and verbal conventions; for, failing exact knowledge, we are justified in having recourse to broad generalisations.

Thus, though conventional standards are commonly faulty, and so objectionable from the point of view of exact knowledge, yet we must needs put up with them until Science shall condescend to supply us with thoroughly reliable data. It is obvious that the world of enquiry and discussion requires convenient labels for the men and things it deals with; and that world cannot reasonably be expected to suspend all discussion until such times as specialised opinion shall have reached that happy state of unanimity, touching the elements and foundations of knowledge, to whose advent the serious divisions that presently prevail among the learned themselves would appear to be not the least of many capital obstacles. Such expressions, therefore, as the "Slavonic race," the "Teutonic race," the "Celtic race," etc., etc., are, meantime, legitimately employed, when they are used as convenient labels and verbal

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conventions only, and are not sought to be invested with meanings and significations which, doubtless, from a strictly scientific point of view, it would be both wrong and misleading to seek to endow them with. The English are properly classed as belonging to the Teutonic branch of the great European family, though everyone knows that they are, as indeed are the Germans themselves, a very mixed people. But the fact that they are mixed does not in their case invalidate the generalisation which classes them as "Teutonic," any more than does the fact that the Germans also are a very mixed people invalidate the same thing with regard to themselves. Similarly with the Celts. They, too, are of mixed blood—very mixed if we bear in mind the fact that even before they set foot in these islands, many hundreds, nay, perhaps several thousands, of years ago, they were not of "pure" blood—but with the Celts, as with the English, Germans, Russians, Italians, and other peoples I could mention, the racial labels which convention attaches to them are broadly justified, and must, and doubtless will, remain in force until they are superseded—which, by the way, seems highly unlikely—by others that shall be more comprehensive, and more agreeable to the fiats of Science with respect to the ethnographical beginnings, vicissitudes, and existing complexion of the various peoples that unite to comprise the great European family of nations.

The present attitude of "Science" towards Race being what it is—one of extreme uncertainty, complicated by a somewhat intolerant contempt of conventional and unspecialised opinion as to that head—

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President Wilson's avoidance of the Racial, and warm insistence on the National, principle, as a means to the end he has in view (a "lasting Peace"), will doubtless seem to many, as it does so to the present writer, a perfectly natural, and, under the circumstances in which Mr. Wilson is placed, altogether unavoidable circumstance. A new Europe, based upon a full and frank recognition of the rights and liberties of the various nations, great and small, of which it is composed, is a measure of justice hard enough in all conscience to bring about, without charging the same with ideals yet more lofty and difficult of realization than those which, its critics maintain, constitute the principal obstacle to the fulfilment of Mr. Wilson's proposals, even as they presently stand. Furthermore, Mr. Wilson cannot but be aware of the fact that International Law will have nothing to do with Race. The objections to International as positive law are already many in number, and formidable by nature; and with all his attributed "idealism" the President of the United States is hardly the kind of man who is likely to allow his imagination to exercise itself at the expense of his practical shrewdness, and his keen sense of the immediate fitness of things. To strive to remove some of the more outstanding imperfections characterising International Law—to provide it with a central authority to enforce its rules and to secure obedience for its decrees, the want of which Count Von Moltke thought to be its greatest weakness, and to free the doctrine or theory of national "Recognition" of at least some of the ambiguities that presently overlay and encumber it—here, surely,

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is work enough for one man's life-time, no matter how powerful, zealous, persevering, and industrious that individual may be.

Moreover, we are not to forget in this connection that the Race theory has suffered somewhat in reputation of late by reason of the efforts that have been made to enlist the sentiment that underlies it in favour, and in furtherance, of a very thinly disguised form of Caesarism. The Pan-Slavs of Russia, the Pan-Germans, the Pan-Italians, and the Pan-Anglicans are to be regarded rather as selfish and calculating exploiters, than as true friends, of the racial theory and movement. These, one and all, seek to use Race as a stalking-horse for designs which require very little penetration in order to the discovery of their latent tendency and real character. Indeed, with regard to the ultimate aims and objects of the Pan-Slavs, the Pan-Germans, and the Pan-Italians, little, if any, disguise has been used. Their aims are frankly predatory and acquisitive. The "redeemed" are to be "emancipated"—of course by force of arms—with no other object in view but an increase of power and *prestige* to the country that "wills" their "deliverance" from bondage. In other words, the outlying racial elements are, in each case wherein the racial boundary conflicts with that of the actual State or Nation, to be "absorbed" by the "Mother-country," irrespectively altogether, apparently, of the wishes and feelings of the objects of these all too pressing attentions.¹ Doubtless, the English imperialists or Pan-

¹ The treatment of Bulgaria by Russia during the War of "Emancipation," in which the latter country engaged in 1877 throws a lurid light on Pan-Slavonic aims and methods in general.

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Anglicans would indignantly repudiate all ideas of absorption by conquest, were such a charge laid at their door. The fact that they have no outlying racial elements to absorb need not, however, blind us to the fact that, as regard the spirit and intent of their particular movement, they are just as great sinners as the Pan-Germans, the Pan-Slavs, and others that adhere to that mischievous creed. The spirit that moves these others moved the late Professor Cramb when he wrote :—

If I were asked how one would describe in a sentence the general aim of English imperialism during the last two centuries and a half, I should answer . . . to give all men within its bounds an English mind ; to give to all who come within its sway the power to look at the things of man's life—at the past, at the future—from the standpoint of Englishmen.¹

Now, surprising as it may seem to the English imperialist, there are those within the bounds of the empire who, rightly or wrongly preferring their own, have no particular use for "an English mind," and, further, would very much resent any attempt to impose such a thing on themselves. Why cannot the English learn to live and let live, as some peoples have already learned to do? I quote the late Professor Cramb because he was a particularly able publicist, enjoyed a great vogue in his day, and was high up in the councils of

¹ An amusing illustration of the workings of the imperial spirit is supplied by the Duke of Portland's words in reference to the withdrawal of the English from Corsica in 1796. The English held that island for a time, but the benighted natives did not at all respond to the unique opportunity so afforded them of acquiring "an English mind." Indeed, they rose against it, which finally obliged the Government "to withdraw the blessings of the English Constitution from the people of Corsica."

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the imperialists or Pan-Anglicans. But, after all, Cramb was but one among many. His type of mind is legion, not only among the English, but wherever the pan-sentiment exists and flourishes. The imperialists of all nationalities are to a man tarred with the same brush; and though to cause pain, or even a measure of shocked surprise to anyone so mild and inoffensive as Lord Meath, goes much against the grain with me, yet I cannot choose but remind that well-meaning person that but a hair's breadth separates the ethic of his particular brand of imperialism from that which distinguishes the extravagances of the German fire-eater, Von Bernhardt.

Although the disrepute into which the Racial principle has fallen in consequence of its abuse by the European friends of Caesarism cannot but be matter of knowledge to President Wilson, and may have contributed to cause him to confine his proposals to the National object alone, yet it is much to be hoped that that circumstance will not be allowed to wreck the future of a principle, which, rightly pursued and temperately exercised, should do more than any other to ensure to Christendom the manifold blessings of a really enduring peace. Purged of Caesarism, deprived of those objectionable features with which the various Pan-movements have made us all too familiar, I see no reason why the Racial, operating in conjunction with the National, principle, should not be effectually exerted in order to realise the grand objects of those who, in their dreams, have yearned for a confederated Europe. Doubtless, an ideal so lofty, and one so much beset with practical difficulties, is not to be realised

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in a day. The coming Peace Conference, however, at which it is to be hoped the whole of Europe, neutral as well as belligerent, will be represented, might well do something to lay the foundations on which there shall be raised up, in future years, the imposing edifice of a Europe confederated on racial lines; showing no traces of the employment of conquest and oppression as structural aids, and cemented and held together, not by Caesarism, but by the strength imparted by the free and unrestrained pursuit and cultivation of the various racial cultures with which Europe is so richly endowed. That Conference might profitably turn its attention to Hellas as she existed before she set up for an empire, and learn of Athens, before the age of Themistocles, how to promote the object of the cultural union of kindred peoples, without doing violence to their political independence. That was one of two great problems which, commonly regarded as having been solved by the Greeks, Europe would do well to bear in mind at the present conjuncture. The other "great political discovery," as, I think, Grote somewhere styles it, is the Federal system of Government, which seems destined to supersede all existing forms of unitary or centralised rule.¹

¹ True Federalism did not obtain in Greece until the formation of the Achaean League. The Athens of Pericles was dictator of the cities which had joined her alliance. Corinth, Sparta, and Thebes were each the political head of a group of dependent towns. Even in the Olynthian League, the city of Olynthus occupied a situation superior to that of the other cities. On the other hand, the great Celtic "Empire" of the past, which stretched across Southern Europe from Ireland to the plains of Asia Minor, was, like its prototype the Achaean League, an alliance based on equal terms.

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For my part, I cannot but deprecate the idea of "discovery" in a field of human thought wherein all the available positive and analogous evidence favours the presumption of gradual growth, in respect of ideas which, generally speaking, we find to attain to whatever measure of perfection is theirs through the channel of a lengthy concatenation of laborious experiences. The Achaean League, the "classic" archi-type of the Federative system, was probably borrowed, not "discovered"; and if I were asked to say from what particular source the Greeks derived that highly important principle, I should reply from their close friends the Celts, who had practised it from times at least as remote as those which first bring us into historical contact with that powerful people. The *Anonymi Orbis Descriptis*, published in Müller's *Geographi Graeci Minores*, states that the Celts were on the most friendly terms with the Greeks, and similar evidence is supplied by Ephorus, who, in his *History*, says that the former were great admirers of the latter, a state of relationship which, though, doubtless, more flattering to one party than to the other, yet by no means excludes the possibility of a mutually useful exchange of ideas. Doubtless, these amicable relations were a good deal disturbed by the great Celtic invasion, under Brennus, of Macedonia, about the year 280 B.C., but I think it to be not a little significant in this connection that the Achaean League was formed not long after the crossing over at Byzantium into Asia of that body of Celts which founded the Gallo-Greek Kingdom of Galatia in the heart of Phrygia. The concurrence of the two events above referred to, con-

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sidered in conjunction with the close friendship that existed between the Greeks and the Celts, at least opens up the prospect of a possibility which further research may hereafter serve to convert into something much stronger.

In order to secure to Europe a really "lasting Peace," there are two capital conditions which, I venture to think, are essential thereto. In the first place, no peace that is based on victory can possibly secure that result, because victory is expressly declared to involve reprisals; and "reprisals," "indemnities," "safeguards," and so forth are plainly merely so many seeds of future wars. Moreover, a victorious peace would fatally prejudice the good cause of general European disarmament, besides casting the fragments of Mr. Wilson's programme to the many scraps of paper with which the devious paths of European diplomacy are already thickly strewn. In the second place, the coming Peace Conference should be a real gathering of the nations. It should embrace all the great historic racial divisions of Europe—Slavs (Russians, Poles, Bulgars, Serbians, Czechs, etc.); Teutons (English, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Dutch, Norwegians, etc.); Greeks, Latins, Celts (Irish, Scots, Welsh), Magyars, Finns, etc. For, if the Peace that is designed to heal the gaping wounds in the European body politic, occasioned by the present dreadful war, is to effect that object in lasting fashion, is it not obvious that all the members of which that *corpus* is composed must be parties to it?

The real disturber of the peace of Europe is Caesar, who, though dead, yet ruleth. So long as Empire

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based, either immediately or remotely, directly or indirectly, on force, endures, so long will it be vain to look for "lasting Peace," and so long will the dream of Sully, Grotius, Bentham, and other humanitarians remain unrealised. Doubtless, it would be foolish to expect miracles, in respect of manners and ethics, of the coming Conference; but there is a Celtic saying to the effect that "beginning is the third part of accomplishment." If Christendom is ever to be permanently pacified, it is obvious that a beginning to that good work must, sooner or later, be made; and what time more favourable or more seasonable can be imagined or desired than that which will be at Europe's disposal when the dove shall return to the ark from which she has already been sent forth, once or twice, in vain, bearing in her beak the joyous evidence of the subsidence of those angry waters of destruction and tribulation which are now our only prospect from day to day? If, however, the ideals set forth in President Wilson's Peace Rescript are ever to be fully realised, something more will be required, in order to that end, than Congresses and Conferences, of which, after all, it would be absurd to expect more than, at the utmost, a relatively enhanced sense of public duty, and a relatively superior power to reflect, in their decrees and provisions, what is best and noblest in the state of contemporary morals and ethics. The Democracy of Europe must supply the driving power, without which the best-intentioned Congress, or the most peacefully-inspired Conference, cannot but fall far short of the expectations formed of it by a just sense of its humanitarian professions. And that want

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can only be supplied through the channel of popular education. There is a political creed, crazy and mischievous in some respects, but singularly sound in two, from whose book of principles modern Europe would do well to borrow a leaf. I allude to the Anarchists, whose theoretical, if not practical, passion for education is well known, and whose dream of a state of society in which mankind shall be sufficiently well educated to enable the State to dispense with force as a means to secure the due observance of laws is equally familiar to us, and is, it appears to me, too commonly derided.¹ But both those are fine ideals, worthy in every respect to be kept constantly before us, and supplying, as regards the last, just that measure of incentive to perseverance in well doing, and fidelity to high-thinking, which our recognition of the first as a perfectly realisable object is best calculated to afford us, and renders necessary to us, if the human race, as a whole, is ever properly to fulfil the moral ends for which God Almighty has created us. No doubt, the process of refining out the drosses and grossnesses wherewith human nature is charged will be a lengthy and a toilsome one; but though man is born to trouble, yet is it not ever upwards that the sparks, which symbolise this vexed and transitory life, fly? In

¹ Both Socialism and Anarchism have not a little in common with the Celtic System. As regards the last, the due observance of the laws contained in that great body of Celtic jurisprudence, known as the *Brehon Laws*, was dependent, not on any executive authority, but public opinion. The points of resemblance between the Celtic System and modern Socialism are many and highly interesting, but I must be excused from here entering into any detail respecting them.


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the sweat of our brows are we condemned to labour;
but after pain and sorrow, toil and tribulation, there
will come gladness; and so will the soul of man one
day pass (let us hope)

AD ASTRA PER ARDUA.



Scottish Shipping and the War.

HE reorganisation of the Shipping industry is one of the most important problems with which the United Kingdoms will have to deal on the "outbreak of peace." To-day, after more than two and a half years of war, the crisis has admittedly become acute. The ostrich-like policy of the Government in regard to the submarine menace deceives no one. The losses of allied and neutral merchant vessels—more particularly during the past fifteen or eighteen months—probably will not affect fundamentally the ultimate result of the war, but the toll of the submarine must nevertheless be taken into consideration in order to appreciate accurately the present position of the titanic conflict. The serious depletion of our mercantile marine may also temporarily affect the commercial activities of these Kingdoms after the war. A brief preliminary survey of the world's ship-building activities will therefore be necessary in order to ascertain clearly the prospects of Scottish Shipping after the war.

For nearly three years the greater part of the German mercantile fleet has been locked up in neutral ports and in the harbours of the Central Empires and their allies. "It has been resting but not rusting" is the boast of the German Shipping magnates, but that claim must be materially modified. It must not

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be forgotten that, on the outbreak of the war, many German vessels were seized as prizes in Allied ports, and the fate of certain liners which were transferred into commerce raiders is now a matter of history. It is practically certain—notwithstanding vague bluff from Berlin—that in the earlier stages of the war Germany was not able to replace more than a fraction of the lost merchant vessels. The Central Empires, like the Allied Nations, directed all their industrial activities towards the production of war material and the strengthening of their naval and military resources. More guns, more shells, more submarines, and more Zeppelins—that has been the keynote of Germany's war methods. The result is that German shipping tonnage, like that of all the belligerent nations, has decreased materially since the autumn of 1914, although, as will be noted presently, a strenuous effort is being made in the ship-building yards of the enemy powers to make good the ravages of the war. Lloyd's Register of Shipping gives the following list of vessels of 100 tons and over in the different countries in the world:—

		1914.			1916.
		Number.	Gross tonnage.	Number.	Gross tonnage.
United Kingdoms,	11,328	21,045,649	11,141	20,901,999	
United States, ...	3,174	5,368,194	3,245	6,148,861	
Germany, ...	2,338	5,459,296	1,953	4,151,552	
Norway, ...	2,191	2,504,722	2,255	2,771,022	
France, ...	1,576	2,319,438	1,510	2,216,643	
Italy, ...	1,160	1,668,296	1,210	1,896,543	
Japan, ...	1,103	1,708,388	1,151	1,847,453	
Holland, ...	806	1,496,455	792	1,508,916	
Russia, ...	1,245	1,053,818	1,251	1,068,502	

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	Number.	1914.	Number.	1916.
		Gross tonnage.		Gross tonnage.
Sweden ...	1,466	1,118,086	1,380	1,025,020
Austria-Hungary,	445	1,055,719	396	892,618
Denmark, ...	822	820,181	854	857,602
Spain, ...	647	898,823	606	829,836
Greece, ...	485	836,868	439	733,276
Others, ...	2,091	1,736,221	1,838	1,833,272
<hr/>				
Grand Total,	30,836	49,089,552	30,167	48,683,136

The figures are illuminating. It will be noted that, in spite of submarine losses, the United Kingdoms have still a great lead in Shipping tonnage over their rivals. A closer scrutiny of Shipping statistics would show that Scotland, in proportion to population, is one of the principal carrying nations in the world.¹ Many valuable Scottish ships, it is true, have been sent to the bottom during the past two years, but this Kingdom still maintains its prominent place in the Shipping world.

The statistics show that during the first two years of the war there has been a decrease of 143,000 tons in the Shipping of the United Kingdoms. That shortage will, of course, have been materially increased since June of last year, when the Lloyd's figures were compiled, but still the situation, though serious, need not give rise to undue alarm.

Extremely significant, however, is the remarkable increase in American tonnage from 5,368,194 to 6,148,861. Formerly Germany was second in the

¹ See article by the present writer in the 1916 Autumn number of *The Scottish Review* on "Scottish Commerce after the War."

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world's list ; now that place has been taken by the United States. The boom in American ship-building has indeed been one of the features of the industrial situation created by the war. Norway, Italy, and Spain have also increased their mercantile fleets, while the tonnage of all the principal belligerent nations—the United Kingdoms, France, and Germany—shows a perceptible decrease. With regard to the world's Shipping, Lloyd's Register states quite frankly that—

In the United Kingdoms, merchant shipbuilding is still seriously restricted by the necessity for the production of war-vessels of various kinds ; and although there has recently been some acceleration in the rate of progress in the construction of vessels, the output remains far below that of normal times. In neutral countries, and particularly in the United States of America, every effort has been, and is being, made by means of the extension of existing plants, and the creation of new establishments, to cope with the increasing demand for tonnage. That a large measure of success has attended their efforts is evident from the fact that there is now being built under the inspection of Lloyd's Register of Shipping, with a view to classification, a larger amount of Shipping than has ever been recorded in the history of the Society—620 vessels, of 2,282,709 tons.

Two facts are brought clearly out by that authoritative statement on the position of the world's ship-building—first, that our output of merchant Shipping is still considerably below that of normal times, and second, that before many months are over 620 new vessels will be launched, a considerable proportion of which will fly a foreign flag. The new tonnage is equal to about 20 per cent of that of the whole mercantile marine of the United Kingdoms. In that augmentation of the world's Shipping, America has played a prominent part. Figures published by the United States Bureau

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of Navigation since the Lloyd's statistics were compiled show that for the past year 178 vessels were turned out, with a gross tonnage of 554,000, or double that of 1915, when 127 vessels of 270,000 tons were built. And the rate of progress is still being accelerated. In December last, there were in American ship-building yards no fewer than 400 steel merchant vessels of 1,428,000 gross tons, compared with 203 steel vessels of 761,511 tons in the closing month of 1915—an increase of practically 100 per cent. Scarcely less significant is the remarkable outburst of activity in the ship-building yards of Japan. The moral of all this is obvious—the war has provided a golden opportunity for the great neutral nations to augment their mercantile fleets, and they are straining every nerve to capture a bigger share of the world's carrying trade while their former rivals are engaged in the grimmer contest on the battle-fields.

The German ship-builders are to a large extent working behind closed doors, but still enough of the truth has been ascertained to show that in the Empire beyond the Rhine strenuous preparations are being made for the keen and intensified competition which will follow the stoppage of actual hostilities. According to statistics published by the Bureau Veritas in Paris, Germany has lost during the war 409 vessels, including 152 destroyed and 257 captured and used by the Allies. This represents a loss of 1,260,000 tons, or 24 per cent of her total Shipping. From that blow the enemy mercantile marine has not yet recovered, but Germany is now building merchant vessels much more rapidly than in the early stages of the war.

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"To counter her loss of 1,260,000 tons, Germany has in the period from 1914 to June, 1916, constructed 676,996 tons, and has also 900,000 tons under construction, or in all a total of 1,577,000 tons." That is to say by the end of the present year—when it is to be hoped that the homicidal struggle will be at long last at an end—Germany will not only have made good her war losses, but will have over 200,000 more tonnage than at the outbreak of the war.

The position of the United Kingdoms is admittedly a difficult one, but the policy of the Government in denuding the shipyards (and the farms as well) of an adequate supply of labour and staking everything on a gigantic military effort in the coming summer, is open to the gravest objection. It is not yet possible to tell fully all that has been done in the ship-building yards of the United Kingdoms during the past three years. It is giving away no secret, however, to say that the output of naval work on the Clyde, the Forth, the Tyne, the Tees, and the Thames has been on a gigantic scale—quite without precedent in the whole history of ship-building. At the same time the marked diminution in the output of merchant ships—and that too in face of the increasing activity of enemy submarines—is ominous and disquieting. The statistics available show that the total tonnage launched last year was considerably below that of 1915. The total given in the *Glasgow Herald* ship-building returns shows that the output for 1916 was 582,000 tons, compared with 650,000 tons for the previous year—a very serious decrease in view of the continuous depreciation of our sea-carrying capacity. It is

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true that a perceptible improvement has recently taken place in the reinforcement of our merchant tonnage, but the situation still calls for prompt and vigorous action on the part of the Shipping Controller and the responsible Government departments.

The difficulties of the situation have been accentuated by the policy of blatant profiteering which has been pursued by the Shipping Companies of the United Kingdoms. Their part in the great war has not been in every respect a laudable one. The Shipping magnate, it is to be feared, must be ranked among those who when their grand-children ask in after years, "What did you do in the great war, grandpa?" will reply, with swelling bosom and quavering voice, "I did the people, my child." Their's is a revised version of the Coal Baron's song:—

Let them fight as much as they like,
For us 'tis a perfect boon;
Merrily high the freights still fly
In monopoly's big balloon.

The effect of the soaring freights on the industries of Scotland—on the daily lives of the people—has been quite as serious as the raids by enemy submarines. In this respect there is little to choose between the profiteering "piracy" of patriotic capitalists and the submarine piracy of the Germans. Nearly three-fourths of the mercantile fleet has been commandeered by the Government. In the first year of the war alone, over a hundred English steamships were sold to neutral owners—principally in Norway and the United States—at three or four times their normal value.¹

¹ The following details of recent deals will illustrate the remark-

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These combined causes, together with the displacing from the seas of the German merchant fleet, created a shortage in the merchant service and gave the ship-owners of the United Kingdoms a golden opportunity of which they fully availed themselves. Freight rates have increased enormously. Before the war a ton of wheat could be brought from the Argentine to Leith or Glasgow for the modest sum of 12/6. To-day the cost of transport is from 120/- to 130/-—an increase of 1000 per cent. On other routes the sea-barons—as Ruskin would have termed them—have been equally as rapacious, and their toll quite as burdensome on the industries of the country. The freight to Port Said, for example, which was 9/6 in 1913, had risen to 11/2 in 1914, 32/3 in 1915, and 84/8 in 1916. To Malta, the freight rates were—1913, 8/-; 1914, 8/6; 1915, 33/9; and 1916, 75/9. To Naples—1913, 9/3; 1914, 10/-; 1915, 37/8; and 1916, 82/4. To Algiers—1913, 8/2; 1914, 8/5; 1915, 27/3; and 1916, 56/10. To Cherbourg—1913, 5/11; 1914, 6/6; 1915, 18/10; and 1916, 18/9 to 32/-.

These soaring freights are typical of what has been happening on all the sea routes of the world, for

able inflation of shipping values. The Alcides (2492 tons net) was built at Alloa in 1893. Four or five years ago she was sold for £6100. During the past year she again changed hands at the enhanced price of £66,750. The Scottish Glens bought in 1910 for £3000 was sold a few months ago for £68,000. The Perth, sold originally in 1912 for £17,000 was sold in 1916 for £178,000. The St. Nicholas, sold in 1914 for £25,000 was sold in 1916 for £80,300. The Doonholm sold originally in 1911 for £8000, fetched £115,000 in 1916. The Brabloch changed hands in 1911 for £4400; recently she was sold for £56,000.

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shipowners in neutral, as well as in belligerent, countries shared in the spoils. Indeed it is one of the stock grievances of the Shipping magnates of the United Kingdoms that neutral owners have made more out of the war than the patriotic capitalists of Scotland and England.

The boom in freights has had its natural sequel in a period of inflated profits—profits without a parallel in the history of the Shipping industry. Dividends of 15 to 20 and 25 per cent. have been declared by Shipping Companies of Scotland and England, and that, too, after setting aside substantial sums for depreciation and reserve, and paying a heavy toll to the Exchequer for excess profits duty. The pages of the official *Stock Exchange Year Book* bear eloquent and convincing testimony to the truth of this. From the 1917 issue I have culled the following details regarding the boom in Shipping Companies' profits during the war.

The normal pre-war dividend of the Adam Steamship Company, Aberdeen, was 4 per cent. ; in 1910-11 no dividend was paid. In 1914-15, the dividend was 20 per cent. ; in 1915-16, 25 per cent., free of income tax. The recent war dividend of the Angus Shipping Coy., Dundee, was 25 per cent. The Dundee, Perth, and London Shipping Company dividend for 1915-16 was 12½ per cent. The London and Edinburgh Shipping Coy., Leith, paid a dividend of 10 per cent. For 1915, the Clan Line, Glasgow, paid a dividend of 25 per cent. ; the normal pre-war return was 6 to 8 per cent., rising on one occasion to 15 per cent. These may be taken as representative Scottish Shipping companies. There are, however, a fairly large number

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of private Companies in Scotland—the Allan Line, Messrs. George Thomson & Coy. (who acquired the Aberdeen Line), the Aberdeen Steam Navigation Company, to mention but a few—and for these no official figures are available. It is perfectly well known in Shipping circles, however, that the private companies have done quite as well during the war as the limited liability companies have done.

Even more remarkable are the records of some of the English companies. The normal pre-war dividend of the Orient Steam Navigation Coy. was 5 per cent; in 1914-15, the first war-year, the Coy. paid a bonus of 50 per cent., while in 1916, there was distributed a bonus of 20 per cent. to the preference shareholders and 50 per cent. to the ordinary shareholders.

The Leyland Line during the war cleared off the arrears of lean years, and for 1915, the preference Shareholders received 22½ per cent.

The Cairn Line, Newcastle, paid 10 per cent. for 1912-13-14. In 1916, the inclusive dividend was 30 per cent., free of income tax.

The English and American Shipping Coy. for the last financial year paid a dividend of 50 per cent., including a bonus of 20 per cent., the latter to be applied towards the increase of the capital.

The China Mutual Steam Navigation Coy. was able to declare for last year a dividend of 106 per cent.

Other noteworthy records are :—

	Normal pre-War dividend.	War dividend.
Anchor Line,	7½ per cent.	20 per cent. in 1915-16, free of tax.

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	Normal pre-War dividend.	War dividend.
Booth Steamship Co.	1913-14, only pref. divi. paid.	1915-16, 10 per cent.
British Steam Navi- gation Coy.,	10 per cent.	1915-16, 20 per cent.
Cunard Coy., ...	5 per cent.	1915, 20 per ct.
Eastern Transport Co.		1915-16, 25 per cent.
Indo-China Steam Navigation Coy.	5 per cent.	1915, 16 per ct.
Manchester Lines,	1913-14, 6 per cent.	1915-16, 27 per cent, includ- ing bonus of 15 per cent.
Oceanic Steam Navi- gation Coy.	30 per cent.	1916, 65 per ct.
Thompson Steamship Coy.,	1914, 7½ per cent.	1915, 40 per ct.
P. & O Line, ...	10 per cent.	1915-16, 18 per cent.
Prince Line, ...	2 to 10 per cent.	1914-15, 19 per cent.; 1915-16, 30 per cent., free of income tax.

In 1915, the profits of nineteen representative Shipping Companies amounted to £4,822,000. That was quite a healthy surplus, but in the following year the profits reached the record figure of £10,000,000. Thus do the exploits of the freebooters of the sea

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dwarf into insignificance the more venturesome enterprises of Macpherson and Rob Roy.

The figures point their own moral, and afford conclusive proof of the fatuous tinkering and blundering of the Government, and the results of their failure to control effectively the profiteers and speculators. Millions might have been saved to these nations, and the increase in the cost of living perceptibly diminished, had the Government at the outbreak of the war taken over the control of the Shipping just as was done in the case of the Railways. Certain timid steps in this direction were taken when Sir John Maclay—one of the foremost figures in the commercial life of Scotland, and one of the ablest organisers in the Shipping world—was appointed Shipping Controller, but nothing effective has been done to eliminate the profiteering element in an industry which now more than ever is essential to the life of the nation. Even the slight restriction of profits in the case of new tonnage has called forth petulant protests from the Shipping magnates. Why should the profits of Scottish and English ship-owners be curtailed, while neutrals are waxing fat on war freights? That, in effect, is the wail of the profiteers. The directors of the Clyde Steamship Owners' Association thus comment on the suggested restrictions:—
"To starve out our own mercantile marine while paying neutral vessels full market rates can only end in disaster to our national interest and redound to the material benefit of the neutrals who, while profiting to the full from us, contribute nothing to our taxation, although our Navy holds command of the sea and permits neutral Shipping to trade freely and expand and

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develop, while our own mercantile marine continue to be depleted and is rendered incapable of expansion."

The 20 to 25 and 30 per cent. dividends are a sinister but significant comment on the "starved out" wail of the Scottish shipowners, particularly when it is remembered that these inflated profits have been obtained after the payment of excess profits duty, and an adequate rate of insurance against war risks, thus providing a special fund for the rebuilding of the lost vessels. Shall it be said that the "common people" of Scotland gave their lives for the cause of the Allies, but that the ship-owners clung to their war-profits as Shylock clung to his gold? "Conscript the people's lives if you may, but spare, oh spare our big war dividends." Such an attitude is not creditable to the patriotism of the ship-owners of these Kingdoms. Nor is the jibe at neutrals in particularly good taste, especially at a time when the daily toll of Scandinavian, Dutch, and Spanish vessels is an ominous feature of the submarine war.

But the protests of the ship-owners merely strengthen the case for the State Control of Shipping during the war. State Control, a veto on the import and export of luxuries, the thorough organisation of the industry so that all our available tonnage may be adequately utilised, and the replacement of the lost ships as speedily as possible—that is the way, and the only way, the submarine menace can be effectively dealt with.¹ Sir John Maclay has admittedly done

¹ Since this passage was written, in the closing days of February, drastic import restrictions have come into operation, but the labour difficulty has not yet been effectually dealt with. In

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much already to make up for lost time. By sanctioning deck-loads, adopting standardised methods of building, and transferring passenger ships on the stocks into cargo boats, he has taken practical steps towards making up the leeway. But the leeway is formidable. Drastic extension of the Government control of Shipping is necessary. The labour supply must also be increased, and, if necessary, men brought back from the trenches to the ship-building yards. The crux of the situation—as the *New Statesman* put it recently—is that “Shipping is being destroyed considerably faster than it is being replaced, whilst German submarines are being launched considerably faster than they are being destroyed.”

That is the menace with which the Allied nations are confronted, and it must be dealt with promptly, courageously, and with Statesman-like prudence and foresight.

These war problems demand the immediate attention of the Government and the Shipping Controller; upon their successful solution the course of events in the final stages of the great struggle will very largely depend. With the cessation of hostilities, however, an entirely new situation will be created—and this

peace time our normal shipbuilding output was 2,000,000 tons per annum. It is estimated that since the war began, 2½ million tons of shipping have been lost. Had the output of mercantile shipping been maintained even at 60 per cent. of the pre-war standard, we would have had over 3 millions tons of new shipping to take the place of the 2½ millions lost. The gist of the matter is that, unless the food supply of these kingdoms is to be seriously endangered, further restrictions of imports must be accompanied by more effective steps to increase the output of new tonnage.

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brings us to the second part of our inquiry :—What are the prospects of Scottish Shipping after the war? How are Scottish Shipping Companies to meet the new situation which will arise when the great fleet of commandeered vessels is released from Government service? How can they most effectively meet the keen competition with German, American, and Scandinavian Shipping Companies that will inevitably follow the resumption of normal trading relations? These are questions that are already occupying the attention of the Shipping world. Those who clamour for a commercial war after the war have been noisily calling for the adoption by the United Kingdoms of a policy of retaliation and retribution. In regard to Shipping, a partial or general re-enactment of the old measures known as the Navigation Laws is generally proposed. The demand has been made by Shipping magnates and Chambers of Commerce on both sides of the Tweed that German ships shall be prohibited from entering the ports of the United Kingdoms—that Scottish and English goods shall be carried only in “home bottoms.”

Let Great Britain, France, Portugal, Italy, Russia, and Japan agree to smudge out the German merchant ships by refusing to allow them to enter any Allied port for twenty years. Decisive victory or no decisive victory, make-shift peace or no peace, we can make that policy good to-day if we want to.

Thus a perfervid English patriot in the London *Evening Standard*—and the cry has found an echo among the representatives of Scottish Shipping, and among that section of the Scottish populace which draws its political inspiration from the gramophone

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press of the English capital. It will be recalled, too, that nearly a year ago a deputation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce waited on Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Runciman and submitted for their consideration the following proposal :—

“ That action should be taken by the Government to amend the existing Navigation Laws under which subsidised foreign ships can make use of British ports and obtain the benefit of harbour facilities while escaping the payment of harbour dues.”

It will thus be seen that the “ sea barons ” are already on the outlook for their reward after the war. That is doubtless why ship-owners, who have waxed fat on soaring freights, are joining with militant suffragists in the hysterical chorus, “ Bring back Hughes ! ” Right at the outset be it said, that this was not what the manhood of these nations joined the army for. It was not to bring more grist to the mills of the ship-owners and capitalists that hundreds of thousands of young men in the prime of life—men from the straths and glens of Scotland—have made the supreme sacrifice on the battle-fields of France and Flanders.

It must be conceded that the proposal to exclude German ships from the ports of the United Kingdom appeals to the Old Adam that lurks in the breasts of most of us. The German methods of warfare have done much to provoke some such retaliation. The submarine war on Allied and neutral Shipping, and its attendant cruelties, make it impossible for Scotsmen to welcome German ships or German traders to our shores. That feeling of hostility is one of the inevitable results of the war. But it is not difficult to see that

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that perfectly natural feeling of resentment is being "worked upon" by interested agitators in order to buttress the position of the great Shipping Companies.

The question, however, must be asked—Have the Shipping Companies who, along with the profiteers and food speculators, have been largely responsible for the oppressive increase in the cost of living, justified their demand for what is virtually a monopoly of the Empire's Shipping trade? Do the great Shipping rings deserve such a concession? One recalls the remark of King Charles of "merry" memory to his brother James when the latter had been hinting darkly of insurrection in the country. "Ah, my brother," retorted Charles, "the people will never dethrone me to make *you* King." So, too, might the democracy of the United Kingdoms reply to the Shipping magnates: "The people will never throttle foreign competition in order to make you monopolists." Given the national control of Shipping, the problem would be entirely different, but while monopoly and profiteering are the ruling factors in the Shipping world, the people of Scotland—the commercial and industrial classes of Scotland—have nothing whatever to gain by a short-sighted policy which can only profit the ship-brokers and the Shipping rings.

"'British' trade for 'British' ships"—as advocated by *The Times* and other newspapers—has undoubtedly certain superficial attractions, but it merely implies a renewal of the discredited Navigation Laws which came into operation at the time of the Commonwealth. These Acts in the past were not only a prolific source of trouble between England and Holland,

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but they actually failed in their specific purpose of promoting English trade. Nay, more. Before the Acts had been 22 years in operation England and Holland were at war. As to the effects of the Navigation Laws on trade, Mr. John M. Robertson, in his able and closely-reasoned pamphlet on *Shipping after the War*, quotes the following significant passage from the "Treatise" of Mr. Roger Coke: "Within two years of the passing of the Act, England lost the greater parts of the Baltic and Greenland trades." Subsequently, as Sir Joshua Child points out, a great deal of the Russian, Norwegian, and East Indies trade was lost to the Dutch. Even Adam Smith, who defended the Act on political grounds, says:—

The Act of Navigation is not favourable to foreign commerce, or to the growth of that opulence which can arise from it. . . . If foreigners, either by prohibition or high duties, are hindered from coming to sell, they cannot always afford to come to buy. . . . By diminishing the number of sellers therefore, we necessarily diminish that of buyers, and are thus likely not only to buy foreign goods dearer, but to sell our own cheaper than if there were a perfect freedom of trade.

All that, I know, is one of the most elementary facts of political economy, but it is necessary to point out these things occasionally, for the arm-chair protagonists of Protection are too often as ignorant of the groundwork on which the whole fabric of modern commerce rests as they are of the history of their own country. "British" trade for "British" ships is not a new policy—merely a clumsy conspiracy to resurrect, in the interests of a small section of the community, a discredited system which has been dead and buried for more than a century. If the Navi-

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gation Laws were re-enacted under existing circumstances they might add temporarily to the profits of the Scottish and English Shipping Companies, but even this dubious result could only be attained by raising the prices of commodities to the home consumers.

Thus far we have been discussing the proposal to exclude German ships from Scottish ports mainly from the economic point of view. But there is another aspect of the question which cannot be ignored in a world-crisis like the present. It is quite possible—at anyrate it is quite a plausible argument—to say that although we might suffer material loss by refusing to trade with Germany, and forbidding the ships of a criminal state the right of entry to the ports of the United Kingdoms, it would nevertheless be in the interests of the Allied powers to pass that self-denying ordinance. The proposition is at any rate an arguable one, and a perfectly intelligible one, but I am afraid it will not stand the test of examination. It presupposes the continuance of a state of war after peace has been ratified by a new scrap of paper; it is based on an ideal of perpetual enmity. So deep and strong are the passions which have been aroused by this war that the old standards of public policy can scarcely be maintained. At the same time, when the last shot has been fired in this homicidal conflict—when the debauchery of blood is at long last over—it is necessary that the foundations of the world's peace should be laid on a firm basis and that every possible cause of friction should be excluded. No effort should be spared in framing the peace settlement to prevent a recurrence of world-wide war. That is a

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position, I think, which will be accepted by the men in the trenches—who are much more entitled to a voice in the peace settlement than the arm-chair patriots and jingo newspaper editors who kill a horde of Germans every morning before breakfast, but shun the danger-zone as they would the Kaiser or the Devil. That position, I say, will be accepted by the men who are doing the fighting as well as by the most enlightened public opinion in all the belligerent nations. Tried by that test, the perpetual boycott of Germany, the exclusion of German ships from Scottish and English ports, stands condemned. The state of perpetual hostility which it postulates, the perpetual friction between the rival groups of nations, the continual presence of inflammable materials would be a menace to the peace of the world and would transform the whole of Europe into a veritable powder-magazine. In brief, to treat Germany thus is to compel her to be an enemy. It would be staggering, humiliating, if we had to confess that the thousands of gallant lads who fell on the battle-field died only to perpetuate war.

From a commercial and industrial point of view—as well as from the point of view of world politics and harmonious international relations—the boycott policy stands condemned. The Shipping industry of these Kingdoms has no need of such meretricious aids to prosperity. Scottish ship-owners are not, and never were, afraid of German competition. The officers and men who man our mercantile fleet have a high record for efficiency and an honourable reputation in every quarter of the globe, and will not fail to hold their own in the coming struggle.

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The "ton-for-ton" suggestion probably finds more support in Scottish Shipping circles than does the double-edged boycott policy. "The piracies will have to be paid for in ships," they declare, for the old Jewish law, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," has its roots deep down in human nature. In this case the claim of the ship-owners is admittedly a strong one, but it must not be forgotten that no indication whatever was given in the Allies' reply to Mr. Wilson's peace note that a demand for compensation on these lines would be made by the nations which have suffered from the depredations of the submarines. The truth is the Peace settlement will be determined largely by the results of the military and naval campaigns during the summer. A big Shipping indemnity might be extracted from Germany after a crushing military defeat of the Central Powers, but it cannot be too confidently reckoned on in the event of the "peace without victory," or conquest, which President Wilson and the neutral pacifists have hoped for or predicted. Meanwhile, at any rate, prudent business men will not count too confidently on a ton-for-ton indemnity, however much they may feel that they are justified in making Germany pay for her piracy depredations.

All this does not mean that Scottish ship-owners should rest on their oars and make no preparations for the new situation. Far from it. When the commandeered ships are released and all the new tonnage is launched, competition will be keener than ever before. The war-time losses of the Scottish Companies must be made good as speedily as possible. An extension of the ship-building industry may be

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anticipated—indeed preparations in that direction are already being made at more than one Scottish port. A big development in the trade between Scotland and Russia may also be confidently expected; and Aberdeen, as the nearest port to our Eastern ally, may, as time goes on, become an important centre of Russian Shipping activity. Indeed, there is no reason why all the East Coast ports should not share in that increased trade. If full advantage is to be taken of the closer commercial relations with Russia, improved harbour facilities will be necessary, particularly at Aberdeen and the other North-Eastern ports. That is a matter that has been scandalously neglected in the past, and there is no reason to suppose that the self-styled "business government" will improve on the bad old traditions of St. Stephen's. Neglect of Scottish affairs is one of the penalties which we have to pay for the loss of our ancient Parliament, and not till Scotland has regained control of her own national life will the evils of over-centralised administration be wholly eradicated. Self-government and national independence are essential to the full and proper development of the commercial and industrial life of Scotland. In that development improved harbour accommodation and improved ship-building and transport facilities will play a prominent part. The construction of a Forth and Clyde Ship Canal, for example, might be profitably undertaken by a Scottish Parliament. It is true that this scheme—long talked of—does not command unqualified approval in Leith Shipping circles, but on the whole, the Canal would be a distinct advantage to Scottish industry and commerce.

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There are no valid military objections to the proposal. Indeed, as Sir J. H. A. Macdonald pointed out in a recent issue of *Chambers's Journal*, it may be reasonably contended that it would be a most useful addition to our defensive powers at sea. But it is with the value of such a Canal to Scottish commerce that we are mainly concerned in the meantime. Sir J. H. A. Macdonald says :—

“ Much traffic from East to West and *vice versa* could reach its port more easily and more safely than at present. There is one very obvious instance—mercantile traffic between Russia and the Baltic—not to speak of Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, and Belgian traffic—and Glasgow would be as direct as it is now of necessity indirect, requiring either a voyage round Land's End or round Shetland, or breaking bulk and a railway journey. Conversely, trade between India and the Mediterranean and Leith or Dundee or Aberdeen, would pass to and from these ports by the Irish Channel and the Forth and Clyde Canal instead of going all the way round by the English Channel.”

These few sentences put concisely the case for a Ship Canal from the Forth to the Clyde, and the un-biassed observer will readily concede that that case is a strong one. Will it be necessary to postpone the cutting of the first sod pending the creation of a Scottish Board of Trade, or the establishment of an independent Scottish Parliament ?

No survey of the prospects of Scottish Shipping after the war would be complete without a reference to the nationalisation proposals which are being freely discussed to-day in commercial as well as in political circles. The nationalisation of Shipping is admittedly an ambitious proposal, but the practical steps taken in that direction by the Commonwealth Government,

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and the profiteering piracy of the ship-owners during the war, have given a considerable impetus to the movement in favour of State Ownership and Control. That the Shipping magnates should oppose such a scheme is probably only to be expected. Certain it is that the suggested nationalisation of Shipping has been vigorously condemned in recent weeks by several representative Scottish ship-owners. Mr. T. Paterson Purdie, the President of the Clyde Steamship Owners' Association, at the recent annual meeting in Glasgow, spoke disparagingly of the proposed extension of State Control, and his colleague, Mr. J. R. Harrison declared that nationalisation "would be a very serious matter." Even more emphatic were the comments of Sir Kenneth Anderson and Lord Inchcape, two able and distinguished Scotsmen, who occupy a foremost place in the Shipping world. Sir Kenneth Anderson, at the recent meeting of the Orient Steam Navigation Company, expressed doubts as to the wisdom of State enterprise; and Lord Inchcape, chairman of the "P. and O.," at the half-yearly meeting of that company, said: "In my humble judgment, Government would do well to leave ship-owning alone, and to avoid embarking on schemes which, if persisted in, can have only one end, and that is to kill private enterprise." "If the Government were to run the P. and O. Company," he declared, "the anticipations of people, tired and jaded by an Indian climate and hard work, who look forward to a comfortable homeward passage would not be so attractive."

The anticipation of a comfortable homeward voyage would not be so attractive! Thus Lord Inchcape.

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But the comfort—the luxuries even—of jaded Anglo-Indians, is surely a minor matter compared with the prosperity of the world's commerce and cheap and adequate transport facilities. To maritime Kingdoms such as Scotland and England, the great Shipping routes, together with the canals and the railways, are the veins through which the life-blood of the nations flows. During the war, stern experience has taught us how imperative it is that these "veins" should be under the direct control of the State. It is not suggested—in the meantime at any rate—that every tramp steamer should be thirled to the Government. That is probably neither necessary nor desirable. The State organisation of Shipping could certainly be more successfully tackled in detail. There are strong and convincing arguments, however, in favour of the view that the great trunk lines of Shipping—as well as the railways—should be nationalised. That is an important preliminary step in the reorganisation of the commercial and industrial life of Scotland. It is essential, in the highest interests of the nation, that the means of communication—railways, canals, roads, and "trunk" lines of Shipping—should be in the hands of Scottish people themselves, just as are the postal, telegraph, and telephone services. That is the only stable basis of industrial democracy, and the only effective method of dealing with the sea-barons and profiteering pirates.

Nor is there any reason to suppose that even the jaded Anglo-Indians would suffer from the change. Lord Inchcape's well-meant warning is presumably merely another way of saying that a State Shipping

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service would be less efficient than that supplied by private companies. But the organisation of the industry, under a Minister of Shipping, would in all probability be entrusted to those who are in the meantime at the head of the transport companies, just as the management of the railways during the war was placed by the State in the hands of experts, including the ablest and most experienced railway officials in the United Kingdoms. Why should not a similar policy be pursued in connection with the great Shipping Companies? The increase of "Combines" and agreements has been a remarkable feature of the Shipping industry in recent years, and from "Combines" to State Control is but a single step. The "Big Ship-owning" table, published in the New Year's number of *Syren and Shipping*, gives some remarkable figures bearing on this point. The 61 Companies which figure in the list own between them over 2000 vessels, representing a gross tonnage of over 12,000,000—practically two-thirds of the entire mercantile fleet of these Kingdoms. For the first time in the history of the world one management alone controls over one and a half million tons of shipping; or in other words, one-twelfth of our mercantile marine. To Lord Inchcape himself is due the enterprise which brought about this gigantic fusion of interests of the "P. and O.," the "B.I.," and the New Zealand Federal Companies. This combined fleet consists of ships of a gross total of 1,528,823 tons. The Ellerman Lines Limited follow closely with 289 vessels of 1,310,362 tons, while the Furness Lines with 220 vessels is just under the million tons mark. These amalga-

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mations total 3,359,443 tons of Shipping ; in other words, nearly one-fifth of the mercantile marine of the United Kingdoms is under three managements. It will thus be seen that the transfer of the great trunk lines to the State does not present very formidable administrative difficulties. In Scotland, too, several similar combines—though naturally on a smaller scale—have taken place in recent years, and all these fusions and amalgamations pave the way for the successful transfer of the “trunk” lines of Shipping to the State.

Our survey of the effects of the war on Scottish Shipping is now virtually complete. We have seen that though the losses from submarine warfare have been serious, Scotland still retains her prominent place in the Shipping world. The ravages of war can be speedily made good if the vast resources of the ship-building yards on the Clyde and the East Coast are adequately utilised, and a just and equitable balance is maintained between the industrial requirements of the nation and the demands of the military authorities for men and more men. We have seen, too, that the Scottish mercantile marine can hold its own in the coming competition without the adventitious aids of subsidy or boycott. The exclusion of German ships from Scottish ports, and the consequent embargo on the ships of the Allied nations by the Central Powers, would indeed prove a menace to the peace of the world. The next step in the development of Scottish Shipping will, it may be confidently predicted, be the nationalisation of the principal mercantile fleets, and the re-organisation of the transport industry on a democratic

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basis. That is a task which we may confidently hope will one day be undertaken by a Scottish National Parliament.

WILLIAM DIACK.



Enter the Celt.

PART III.



ENICA, I think it is, who says somewhere that "happiness consists in wanting no happiness." I presume it was this maxim that moved a certain Russian Minister to declare recently that the programme of a political opponent of his consisted in his rival's having no programme. To bring thus the positive and the negative into seeming harmony and co-relation the one with the other is no inconsiderable sign of mental dexterity. It is a smart way of touching off a metaphysical difficulty, or of raising a laugh at the expense of a political opponent. But negatives, however adroitly they may be framed, or cunningly dressed up, are but temporary shifts. Generally speaking, they are to positives what the defence is to the attack or assault in war. If the grand object of warfare is to destroy your enemy, it stands to reason that you will scarcely compass that object by waiting to receive his successive assaults.

These reflections have been occasioned me by a consideration of the two papers that have passed under this head. Both are very interesting. In both, too, do I find matter of the last importance. I take this occasion to congratulate Mr. John on his; and to "Belfast" I am not less obliged by reason of the

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skilful and edifying manner in which he has handled an admittedly difficult and complex subject. Nevertheless, I could wish, in both cases, that a little more attention had been had to, and a little more light had been thrown on, fundamentals. As regards that article, I find the two papers not positive enough. They raise a cloud of questions which (so it appears to me) will never be distilled to *terra firma* in the customary way, unless they are subjected to the action of the rays of a sun stronger by far than any that has yet dawned on them. To change my figure, I wish to observe that I should like to have seen something of the foundations on which the edifice of this exchange of views has been built up, before being invited to admire the prepossessing proportions, and generally engaging appearance, of the building that has been raised. What are Celtic fundamentals? May we not deduce these, as we are accustomed to do others, from particular and general rights? Certainly we are at liberty so to do; but, in a sense, that liberty is not to be distinguished from license, if we neglect to sanction its exercise by first stating the grounds on which we claim it.

In statements of the kind with which we are here concerned, nothing is, or can be, more desirable than that the reader should be in possession of the fundamentals which support the burden of the superstructure. To accomplish that purpose, it is not necessary that a grand detail should be entered into, elaborate calculations made, or prolix estimates drawn up. All that is necessary is, that the principles on which the publicist designs to found should be etched out clear enough to

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render his deductions understandable to the public, and conclusive as to their judgment, so far as the arguments employed are concerned. More than this, within the compass of a single paper, he cannot be reasonably expected to do. But, to do short of this, he will be unreasonable and trifling both; because to clothe ideas with a few fine words, and then to turn them out into the world to shift for themselves, is not equivalent to providing for their future by endowing them with a wardrobe suitable for all climes and occasions. Even the carpet of Mohammed was not able to remain indefinitely suspended betwixt heaven and earth.

Let us take individual, and from thence deduce national, rights. Philosophers have divided the first into seven parts or heads; but as the present paper is not designed to be a philosophical treatise, the author thereof begs to be excused from descending into a detail touching these several articles. It should be sufficient for our purpose to observe that rights, so far as they concern the individual, are Natural and Adventitious; and that the former include the right of private judgment, as also that of liberty to order our lives, within the bounds of the natural law, according as it may seem best to us to do so.

"By an easy substitution, therefore, of States for individuals (says Hutcheson), the natural law with respect to individuals makes all that public law of States with respect to each other, which is of necessity obligation." Justly, too, does he say farther, that a people enjoys liberty (a Natural Right) when it is allowed to act as it wishes to do, within the bounds pre-

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scribed by the civil law, and is not subject to the caprice of any other State. "As for that much celebrated right of conquest (says our author), by which the conqueror claims the civil power to himself and his heirs over the conquered people, it has little better foundation generally than the claim of robbers and pirates upon persons and their goods which have fallen into their hands."

These few reflexions should suffice to set the stage for some particular observations that I design to make touching our own country, Scotland. In the first place, I apprehend that I am here under no obligation whatsoever to set out to prove the Sovereignty of this ancient Kingdom. Granted that it is a moot point with international jurists whether or not Sovereignty is to be regarded as absolute or relative, the fact remains that Scotland was, and is, a Sovereign State, in that sense of that expression which we are accustomed to entertain in our minds whenever we fall to speaking of those States around us whose Sovereignty is daily manifested to us by all the signs and symbols that are commonly associated to national independence. I say that we are at liberty to regard Scotland as a Sovereign State, because, in former times, she was plainly so; and, I added, still is, according to my reckoning of the matter. For, as a general maxim or proposition, it may be safely laid down that, "once a Sovereign State, always a Sovereign State"; which appears very plain by what Craig says in his *Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted*, wherein he remarks that, "a Prince who governs a free people cannot render them slaves, or subject to the dominion of another Prince."

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He says farther, too, that Alexander Cardinalis, Jason, and Imola hold that, "the rights of Majesty have that prerogative that no Prince has power to dispose of them in any manner; that they cannot be attenuated, renounced, or taken away from a Sovereign Prince, or suffer Proscription by any tract of time." And if the Prince cannot do that which Craig and others say he may not lawfully effect, it follows from thence that neither may he take away or alienate the rights and liberties of his subjects, who have given him the throne and sustain him therein, in order that he may set due ward and watch over the rights and liberties of his subjects. Doubtless, in absolute monarchies, the Prince rules by virtue of that right which he foolishly pretends to derive from God alone. But though that may be the case in absolute monarchies, yet it is worthy of remark that even so perfect a courtier, and so finished a knave, as Sir George Mackenzie, allows that there is a limit to absolute power, which occurs whenever the Prince is guilty of alienating his Kingdom to strangers. It is true that this archstickler for Divine Right seeks to soften the admission he makes by implying that a Prince who so abuses his prerogative must yet be treated with uncommon tenderness. "Grotius does contend (he says), that (in the event of alienation) subjects may refuse to obey because he ceaseth to be their King. But as this is not our case, so even in that case Grotius is very clear that if this alienation be made by an hereditary monarch the alienation is null, as being done in prejudice of the lawful Successor; but he does not at all assert that the Monarch may thereupon be deposed by his people."

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But, in any event, neither of the contingencies sought to be compassed by Sir George MacKenzie "is our case." The Scottish monarchy was never patrimonial; and if slaves and word-jugglers of the era of Charles II. laboured to prove it so, their degrading toil was passed in vain. What says that solemn "Declaration of the Clergy and Community of Scotland" on this head? It says, "that the Right and Title of King Robert the Bruce to the Crown was declared by the judgment of the People; that he was assumed to be King by their knowledge and consent, for ends mentioned by them (*i.e.* to preserve the rights and liberties of the Scottish nation); and that being advanced by their authority to the crown, he was thereby solemnly made King of Scotland."

Our Kings, therefore, were Kings, not by Divine Right, but by virtue of the "authority" of the Scottish nation. They were not at liberty to alienate either their own rights as Kings, nor yet the rights and liberties of the people by whom they were sanctioned, and over whom they ruled. It is plain, therefore, that as neither the Prince could alienate the rights of the Crown, and as the community is not to be supposed to be capable of alienating its own national rights and liberties, save it enter into voluntary association to do so (which is not to be believed or expected of any people), the Act of Union of 1707 is a monstrous and unnatural fraud. The Constitutional position as regards that pretended Act has been clearly defined for all time, by the patriots who exclaimed against it in our Parliament. The language they held to define that position is well worth quoting :

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In all nations, and under every form of government (they affirmed) there are some things which admit of no alteration by any Power whatsoever, without which there can be no Authority or durable Establishment. These are called Fundamentals, or, (according to the modern phrase), the Original Contract, whereof the Constitution, being rights and privileges of Parliament, is the most valuable and considerable. Accordingly, no Parliament or Power whatsoever can legally prohibit the meetings of Parliaments in all time coming, or deprive any of the three Estates of its right of sitting and voting in Parliament; or give away, transfer, or surrender the rights, powers, and privileges of Parliament. Moreover, though Parliament has a power to make alterations of its Fundamental Rights and Constitution, yet the same cannot be done without the consent of every member; for though the Legislative Power is indeed regulated by a majority of voices, yet the sinking or surrendering of the Rights and Privileges of the Nation is not subject to suffrage, being founded on Dominion and Property, and cannot be legally done without the consent of every member who has a right to vote, nay, of every person who has the right to elect.

Now, if the Celt is to "enter" at all in a public, as distinct from a private, way, it is very plain that he must enter on some stage that is accommodated to the part which he designs to play in the world. What can be more obvious than that, if he is to answer those ends which his friends in particular, and his own race in general, expect of him, his "revival," or re-entry into politics, must be adjusted so as to afford him a sound foundation to stand on. The airy mansions of cultural theory, as the star-spangled abodes of purely speculative thought, which the busy traffickers that sell and let out empty houses in the political world are desirous to press on him, as being highly desirable residences, are by no means sufficient to that end. To change the image, he that designs to plunge from an height into the troubled waters of contemporary

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politics must have a stout plank from which to "take off." In fine, as hardly shall a camel pass through the eye of a needle as a people shall hope to shew forth the fruits of the talents which God has been pleased to endow it with, except it possess absolute political power. The Celtic peoples of these islands must reassert their indefeasible right to that power. We in Scotland have but to say that that power shall be ours, and ours it will be. It was honourably said of our ancestors, by Culverius, I think, that they were *marie felices*, and *ingenio felices*. Is our valour so shrunk, and our ingenuity so decayed, that we would rather suffer the folly and disgrace of the Union than exert either to rid ourselves of its presence?

There is an agreeable tale told, I think, by the Platonician, Maximus of Tyre, or some such writer, about a youth, who had been carried off into captivity when he was yet but a child. The youth was of royal birth, and, but for his captivity, would have ascended the throne of the country from which he had been torn; and though his takers had slain his father, and used all manner of villainies towards the inhabitants of the country of which the boy was rightly the King, yet, from a motive of policy, the youth himself, after he was fallen into their hands, they had treated in many ways according to his condition. Nevertheless, his freedom was denied him. Hardly might he pull a flower, or cross a street, without the privity and consent of his governors. At last, his captivity, together with the many petty trammels and vexatious disabilities his entertainment involved, became so irksome to him that he determined to flee from the



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land of his captors. He began to sigh for a favourable opportunity to effect his escape ; and it happened that, whilst he was in that mood, he one day chanced to make the acquaintance of a certain wise man—a philosopher—to whom, not long after, he was fortunate enough to find an occasion to open his mind.

“ You see how I am circumstanced and treated,” said the youth, addressing his friend. “ These clothes are not rags, neither is my body starved. I am not positively unhappy, nevertheless I am not easy in my mind. The things whereof I complain, you, a philosopher, would doubtless set down as trifles. I am, and yet, in a measure, I am not. Tell me, therefore, I pray you, what it is that ails me ? ”

“ You are the son of a King, and were it not for your captivity you would now be the reigning prince of your country ; is it not so ? ” returned the other.

“ Alas ! ” sighed the youth, “ what you say is true enough ; but I have been so long in the hands of my undoers that I have almost ceased to think of that matter. As a tale that is told, or a dream that the dawn has dissipated, so are the things of which you now speak to me.”

“ I will tell you what it is that ails you,” said the philosopher. “ All our notions, thoughts, sentiments, even the loftiest ideals, are drawn from experience ; and no man can hope to trespass beyond the limits which God has been pleased to set to our experiences—no, even though you should come to read, and believe, certain things conceived in what you might take to be a contrary sense and spirit that are to be found in the immortal writings of my master, Plato. But, you,

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O most unfortunate youth! and experience are yet but as complete strangers, one to the other. What should you know of liberty who, since you were a child, have not tasted of it? For, plainly, though your mind is formed to liberty, whose first sweet stirrings are sounding within your soul much as the thickets resound with the joyous songs of hidden birds at springtime, yet are you, as regards that matter, still but as a dumb man striving to speak, or a babe that has not yet got the full use of his tongue. I pray you, nevertheless, to cast these gloomy imaginings away from you, and to rise superior to the melancholy circumstances in which you are presently placed by responding to the voice that is calling you to liberty and freedom through the portals of experience. Believe me that, than liberty, fully possessed and temperately exerted, there is nothing that is more precious, wholesome, and lovely to be found in this world. Without it, man is a void, and peoples are but chaos. Learn of it, therefore, whilst you may, and profit by it whilst you yet have time. Go, my friend: tarry not. Seek out your own, as soon as you can find sure means to fly from this, country. The tenderest wish that I can utter in your behalf is, that I may never behold your face again."

The Celts are one of the great historic races of Europe. As the sands of the sea-shore, so, almost, are the number of their years. At a time when some of the peoples and civilisations that are now big with their own importance were not yet emerged from the unprepossessing surroundings that characterise their originals, the Celts were already old in the service

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of those arts and crafts (indeed, in all those vocations and employments) which soften mankind, and sweeten the acerbities with which this our system is charged. In spite of their faults (and only blind partiality will refuse to admit that these were grievous and many) they were a great people, which deserves a great destiny. And a future commensurate with their merits will be theirs, provided they lay hold on that which it is vain to expect that the future can other ways secure to them, namely, national liberty and freedom. That man who aspires to be, under God, the architect of his own fortunes, must first possess himself of the means wherewith to build the edifice he designs. Such an one must be a free agent. Dependence on others will not serve his turn. Deference to opinions which, as free agent, he is under no sort of obligation to consult; standings on ceremony where no ceremony is due; refinements and punctilios that derive a seeming sanction, not from a just sense of the general fitness of things, but from a fear lest in acting the part of a free agent jealousies should be formed, suspicions engendered, and hostility aroused; these, I say, are some of the things which, singularly or collectively, will (if given a loose to) destroy the project, and defile the man. It was an impiety of Hobbes that there is no such thing as innocence or guilt till they are distinguished by civil laws, and the authority of the magistrate. It would be an absurdity in any one of us to expect the best of which a race or people is capable till its laws, and the authority of the magistrate that is appointed to administer them, are subject to the perfect control of the national will. The *intermundia*

Enter the Celt

imagined by Epicurus (a fit enough abode, doubtless, for the shadowy demons and genii with which his fancy peopled it) bears no sort of relation, and offers no proper sphere, for the actualities and stern realities of this life, whose intent is work, and whose design is mankind.

In fine, if the Celt is to "enter" at all, in the sense that the old and honourable place on the world's great stage, formerly his, shall be refilled by him, he must do so through the ordinary channels of egress and exit. To pursue the image, he must "come on" and "go off" like any other actor. He must speak his words and declaim his part as do his fellow *dramatis personae*. The mild inanities (a whimsical mixture of bathos and pathos), of which he has been so prolific, ever since his stage-right was bubbled from him, must, in future, be left to their appropriate spokesman, the "Chorus." I see, in my mind's eye, a noble and a spacious theatre. It is crowded with rank, and dazzles with beauty. All the talents are collected there. A great drama is about to be played. The curtain rises. Is it a pitiful clown, and a spunkless driveller, that I see before me, or a great actor, the worthy inheritor of the histrionic abilities of his famous ancestor?

MARR.



The Future of the Scottish Labour Party.



THE record of the Parliamentary Labour Party during the past three years has been a bewildering one. It has provided sport for the Philistines, has given the enemies of Democracy cause to rejoice, and has disillusioned many of the best friends of the working-class movement, both north and south of the Tweed. The rank and file of the Trade Unionists are irritated and perplexed to find the leaders, whom they once trusted, linked arm-in-arm with the enemies of progress, and to see a Minister of Labour—an official of a working-class organisation—cracking the whip, in the name of Democracy, at the heads of recalcitrant artisans and labourers who, like Oliver Twist, stagger officialdom by asking for more. Small wonder though thousands of working-class electors are puzzled at all this, and that outspoken critics denounce certain recent doings of the Labour Party as the greatest apostacy of modern times.

To those, however, who are in close touch with the Labour and Trade Union movements, it has been apparent for some time that on many of the most momentous questions of the day there is a sharp difference of opinion between the views of the thinking and intelligent section of the working-class electorate and the time-servers who represent them in the English

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Parliament. This growing revolt against the official Labour Party has been particularly pronounced in Scotland, and even at the Trade Union Congress at Manchester it was strongly in evidence. It is true that, as a result of the block system of voting, a strong minority in some of the principal Trade Unions was unable to voice its opinions effectively, and that by sheer weight of mechanical voting power, the opposition to the policy of the Parliamentary Party was bludgeoned down. But more than one Labour M.P. must have felt an uneasy twinge of conscience (unless that inward monitor suffered from fatty degeneration) as he recognised the strength of the pacifist minority, and the growing revolt of the leaders of the working-class movement against the tyrannical and anti-democratic methods of the English Government, as well as against the bungling of officialdom, for all of which the Labour Ministers had accepted a direct share of responsibility. The strength of the opposition among the Welsh and Scottish delegates was particularly notable—and that is one of the most significant features of the new situation in Labour politics. The attitude of Scotland and Wales is all the more noteworthy in view of the powerful influence which the Celtic element has exercised on the Labour movement during the past twenty or thirty years. A brief backward glance will enable us to appreciate more clearly this aspect of working-class politics, and to understand better the significance of the growing hostility among the working classes of Scotland to the policy of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

In a recent issue of *The Scottish Review*, Mr. James

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Maxton, an esteemed member of the I.L.P., who has since then borne testimony to the faith that is in him by undergoing twelve months' imprisonment on account of his pacifist convictions, described the Scottish Labour Party as an offshoot of the English organisation. That, however, does not quite accurately represent the situation. As a matter of fact, the converse is the truth—the English Party was a development of the pioneer movement in Scotland. There are, I know, rival claimants for the distinction of founding the new party.

Seven cities mourned for Homer dead,
Through which the living Homer begged his bread.

And probably quite as many cities boast the honour of being the birth-place of the Labour Party—cities through which the I.L.P. pioneers "stumped," neglected, and sometimes maligned. London, Manchester, and Bradford all have urged their claims. As a matter of fact, however, the credit of forming the Labour Party belongs undoubtedly to Scotland and to Scotsmen.

It was in 1889—four years before the historic Bradford Conference—that the late Mr. James Keir Hardie convened a meeting at Glasgow which resulted in the formation of the Scottish Labour Party. From the outset the S.L.P. was firmly, even militantly, independent. The first chairman of the Party was Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, then in the hey-day of his popularity in the working-class movement. The Socialist laird of Gartmore had already made one plunge into political life, and did not like the experience.

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I can remember now how he was wont to rail against the presence of lawyers in Parliament. "The House of Commons," he used to say, "has already become an Inn of Court, and over the Speaker's chair, instead of the Arms of England, there ought to be placed a blue bag, a winking eye, an outstretched palm, and the motto—'Six and Eightpence.'" But Mr. Graham was a born rebel. He did not suffer fools gladly, and party bonds galled him. Not for him was the discipline of Democracy, and soon he developed into a literary and political free-lance. I am credibly informed that he still breathes fire and slaughter by fits and starts. At anyrate, those of us who met him in the old days still cherish kindly memories of the chivalrous friend and brilliant author who gave of his best to the working-class movement during the uphill battles of a quarter of a century ago.

Mr. Keir Hardie differed as widely from the first chairman of the Scottish Labour Party as one Scotsman can differ from another; both Mr. Graham and Mr. Hardie, however, had two characteristics in common—loyalty to principle and a fearless, independent outlook on life. Even his political opponents could not fail to appreciate Mr. Keir Hardie's disinterested zeal and his dour fighting spirit. To labour for thirty years in a cause that has scarcely yet become popular, is one of the severest tests to which the working faith of a social reformer can be put. And Mr. Hardie came through that ordeal with honour—the flag still flying—and in the evening of his days was as fearless and vigorous a fighter as when he first contested Mid-Lanark as a Labourist in 1888. That Mid-Lanark

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fight, I ought to have mentioned, was the first Independent Labour Election fought in the United Kingdoms. (The Broadhurst and Burt campaigns belong to quite a different category). Some of Mr. Hardie's friends endeavoured to dissuade him from the rash venture, but, having once put his hand to the plough, the erst-while Scottish miner was not disposed to turn back. He polled 619 votes, and obtained, as he himself once put it, "more fun than he had ever enjoyed before or since."

It was some four years after this historic election—in April, 1892, to be exact—that the first steps were taken to unite the scattered organisations in the United Kingdoms in one homogeneous party. Again, one of the first practical moves came from Scotland. Mr. George Gerrie, of Aberdeen, Vice-President of the Scottish Labour Party—who was closely associated with Mr. H. H. Champion during his stormy career as a Labour agitator—drafted a constitution for an Independent Labour Party. Membership was to be open to all who were prepared to sign a document that "the interests of Labour are paramount to, and must take precedence of, all other interests," and that the advancement of these matters must be secured by political and constitutional action. The one great object of the proposed Party was to secure "the emancipation of the workers from their present economic slavery," and to that end I.L.P. candidates were to be returned to the House of Commons, and to the Town Councils, Parish Councils, School Boards, and other administrative bodies. That Aberdeen proposal caught on. The "Constitution" was published in

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one of the weekly Labour papers (now gone the way of many another similar venture), and, with Mr. Joseph Burgess as secretary, the nucleus of the new party was formed.

The next forward step was taken in September of the same year, when a meeting was held, with Mr. Keir Hardie in the chair, for the purpose of consolidating the scattered forces of Labour. Mr. George Carson, of the S.L.P., was there, and so too was Miss Katharine St. John Conway, one of the most eloquent exponents of the new gospel. Miss Conway (as she then was) is not of course a Scotswoman, but she atoned for the oversight by marrying Mr. J. Bruce Glasier, one of the pioneers of Socialism in Scotland, and at present editor of *The Socialist Review*. By this time, too, some of the miners' leaders had identified themselves with the new movement. I remember, even before the incidents to which I have been referring, standing on a Labour platform along with Mr. Robert Smillie, when that staunch and faithful friend of the miners vigorously expounded the principles of social reform and political independence. From that day to this, Mr. Smillie has never turned back, but has supported through good repute and ill the ideals of his youth and the principles and programme of the Labour Party. It was some time after this, I think, before Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald actively identified himself with the I.L.P.

The sequel to the September Conference to which I have referred was the historic gathering at Bradford at which the Independent Labour Party was formed. Subsequent developments in the Labour movement

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are now a matter of history. One after the other, the great Trade Unions came into line with the new movement. The Labour Party came into being. Isolated victories at bye-elections were followed by the sweeping triumphs of 1896, the Welsh miners contributing in a notable degree to that result. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that it was from Scotland and Wales that the intellectual "driving power" of the new party came. It was the Scottish Labour leaders who gave voice and vision to the new movement. All this, I think, may be justly claimed without doing the slightest injustice either to Lancashire, or to Mr. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Bruce Glasier, and the late Miss Enid Stacey. One has only to mention the names of James Keir Hardie, J. Ramsay Macdonald, James Macdonald, J. Bruce Glasier, George Barnes, Robert Smillie, Margaret MacMillan, and the late John Morrison Davidson (a stalwart exponent of Scottish Nationalism), to realise the powerful influence exercised by Scotland on the working-class movement of the United Kingdoms. Among the younger generation, Mr. Joseph F. Duncan, of Aberdeen; Mr. William Anderson, M.P.; Mr. J. P. Dollan and Mr. Thomas Johnston of Glasgow, maintain the high traditions of the pioneers. Wales can point to Mr. Robert Williams, Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, and to Mr. Winston, of Merthyr fame; while Ireland might be fittingly represented by my late esteemed friend, Mr. James Connolly, who was shot during that tragic Easter-week in Dublin. I do not forget Mr. George Bernard Shaw, but that versatile Irish playwright—one of the pioneers of the Fabian

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Society—belongs to a category all his own. But, to the story of the Labour Party.

The capture of the Trade Unions was not wholly a gain; it gave a prominent place in the councils of the Party to officials who were but sullen and half-hearted converts to the new movement and to politicians "on the make." In certain notable cases Trade Union officials were pitch-forked into the Party by the rank and file of their organisation, and they accepted the situation in the casuistic spirit of the famous Vicar of Bray. Even the further gains at subsequent elections did not compensate for the presence in the councils of the Party of men without vision, and "leaders" who were dullwitted stodginess personified.

Such was the situation in the political Labour world at the outbreak of the war. That the clash of arms and the new and momentous issues brought so dramatically into prominence should create some divergence of opinion in the ranks of the official Labour Party was only to be expected. Even the elementary herd instinct calls for a union of forces against a common enemy. The mildest-mannered pacifist who ever defied the cohorts of militarism would not cavil at those who accepted the Party truce—provided, of course, that the spirit of the truce was loyally adhered to by all concerned. An essential stipulation that, and one which has been flouted in the most flagrant fashion during the past two and a half years by the enemies of Democracy. One may even concede that when Mr. Asquith formed his Coalition Government, a fairly plausible case might have been made out for

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the acceptance of office by certain Labour Members. Even then, however, I think the arguments in favour of such a course were fallacious and inconclusive.

The day on which the luckless Asquith Government was smashed by the little Welsh attorney (after a series of preliminary attacks by Northcliffe poison gas) an entirely new situation was created. It must have been evident then that the conspirators were no friends of the working-class movement. Among the men whom the new Premier gathered round him were bitter and inveterate enemies of Democracy, men who had flouted Labour, and jeered at the ideals and principles which the working-class movement represented. Even under the Asquith regime the shackles of militarism had been fastened on the wrists of the people of Scotland and England, and Labour in the Cabinet nodded approvingly. Now further restrictions, and a very thinly disguised industrial conscription—a miserable make-shift "Substitution" scheme—were imminent. Yet, even in this unsavoury political combine, in a Ministry born of base intrigue, representatives of the Labour Party did not hesitate to accept a place—and that, too, at a time when every Democratic institution in the United Kingdoms was menaced by incompetent "dictators" and blundering bureaucracy. No one suggests that the Labour Ministers were actuated by sordid motives in accepting places in the Rump Cabinet, but the effects of that blunder in policy are none the less deplorable on that account. It is no excuse to say that they were merely the dupes of astuter men than themselves.

Thomas Moore, after all, displayed a profound knowledge of human nature when he wrote:—

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As bees on flowers alighting cease to hum,
So, settling into office, Whigs grow dumb.

And dumb, too, grow the Labour dogs in office, even though relegated to an obscure and inconspicuous place on the door mat. My indictment of the Labour Party is based on broad grounds of principle and policy; at a period of crisis in the history of these Kingdoms—a period of crisis in the history of European Democracy—it was absolutely essential that the representatives of the working classes should keep free from political entanglements, that they should be in a position to examine imparitally the industrial, political, and military proposals of the English Government; and subject to fearless and independent criticism the reactionary schemes of the Northcliffe-George Cabinet. Let Labour members help to win the war by all means, for the end of this devastating struggle cannot come a day or an hour too soon. But it is equally as necessary that "when the boys come home" they should return to free and honourable conditions of life, that those who left the straths and glens of Scotland to wage a "war-to-end-war" should not, when the stupendous struggle is at long last over, find the Democracies of these Kingdoms rivetted hand and foot to the chariot of militarism. These were the tasks with which the Labour Members were confronted, and they demanded for their fulfilment complete freedom of action. Thirled to the English Government, the Labour members were powerless to voice effectively the opposition of the working classes to militarist domination. The crux of the whole matter is that by succumbing to the

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blandishments of Mr. George, the Labour Ministers accepted *responsibility without power*. Even in normal circumstances that is a perilous step to take; it is at best gambling with Democratic principles. In the circumstances under which the Labour officials accepted office, it was a betrayal of working-class interests, and an inexcusable blunder in policy. In the new Ministry, the dictators are predominantly and overwhelmingly hostile to Labour; a Militarist Cabinet rides roughshod over the liberties of the people, yet every Labour Member in the Ministry must accept a direct share of responsibility for the doings of the reactionary Rump. That is why I regard the acceptance of office by Trade Union leaders as a betrayal of Labour and democracy; that is why the grabbing of the spoils by the Labour Party has been condemned in scathing terms as the new apostacy. I have no personal reproaches to hurl at the apostates—I have no title to do so—but at the same time, in the hour of crisis, blundering and muddle-headed mediocrity may be as grave a peril to the nation as the calculated machinations of a scoundrel.

All honour then to the Labour minority in Parliament, who, through good report and ill—even when assailed by the poisoned arrows of malignity and slander—remained loyal to the principles of political independence.

In Scotland, as I have said, there has been a growing revolt in the working-class movement against the policy of the majority of the Parliamentary Labour Party. This increasing hostility to militarist domination and the ever-recurring encroachments on the liberties of

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the people has been particularly pronounced during the past fifteen or eighteen months. It is quite true—and pity 'tis 'tis true—that the three Scottish Labour M.P.'s have ranged themselves on the side of the majority. Mr. George Barnes, the popular representative of Blackfriars Division of Glasgow, has an honourable record in the Labour Movement, and it is some consolation to know that, as a result of the capture of the Labour Party by Mr. George, the administration of the new Pensions Department has been placed in the hands of a staunch Democrat and a capable official. Mr. Adamson, too—who routed the Whigs in West Fife—has taken a step which many of his best friends in Scotland regret, although I imagine that no one—not even his enemies—was surprised at the course taken by Mr. Churchill's Labour colleague in Dundee.

At the same time it must not be assumed that the action of these three Scottish Labour M.P.'s, in identifying themselves with the Lloyd-George Government, commands the unanimous approval of their constituents. That is not by any means the case. There is, at any rate, a strong minority among the working classes of Scotland who view with scorn the base intrigue and trickery which placed Mr. George in the saddle, and who feel that the honour and prestige of the Labour Movement were lowered by the action of Mr. Arthur Henderson and his colleagues in accepting office under such circumstances. It is realised that by the passing of the Compulsory Service Act, the pass has been sold to the militarists; prate the deluded Labourists on the Government benches ever so loudly, there

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is no argument in favour of Conscription for military purposes which does not apply with even greater force to industrial compulsion. In Scottish working-class circles there is strong hostility to both forces of compulsion—and rightly so. But the Labour majority, having been nobbled by the militarists at the outset, had no solid ground left on which to resist the further encroachments of tyrannical bureaucracy.

The strength of the hostility to militarism in Scotland may be gathered from the fact that the War Party is a discredited minority in nearly all the Trades and Labour Councils north of the Tweed. Only in Aberdeen and Edinburgh has it been possible to secure even a bare majority in favour of the policy of the Labour Party in the Westminster Parliament, and that bare majority, curious to note, has been due in considerable measure to the votes of Scottish disciples of the English Socialist leader, Mr. H. M. Hyndman. In all the other Trades Councils, so far as I have been able to find out, the feeling is strongly anti-militarist, and even pacifist. At the Glasgow Trades Council a resolution in favour of "Peace by negotiation" was carried by 76 votes to 5, and at the Glasgow Labour Party by 24 votes to 5. A similar resolution was carried unanimously by the I.L.P. Federation which represents twenty-one branches, while the nineteen Labour members of the Glasgow Town Council, who represent the working-class districts of the city, are unanimously in favour of Peace negotiations.

Even as early as the autumn of last year the executive of the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party expressed its opposition to the prolongation of

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the war, and at the annual meeting of the Council, held at Edinburgh in September, the following resolution was carried by 57 votes to 29 :—

" That this Conference, having regard to the military situation and the enormous wastage of human life and treasure caused by the war, urges the Government to take the earliest opportunity to commence negotiations for Peace."

Even the presence of Mr. George Wardle, M.P., did not prevent the carrying of that resolution by a decisive majority. Later in the year (I am refreshing my memory now by a reference to the files of *The Labour Leader* and *Common Sense*) there was even more conclusive evidence of the strength of the anti-militarist movement in Scotland.

On December 23, a demonstration was held in Glasgow, under the auspices of the National Council of Civil Liberties, and was attended by nearly 300 delegates representing Labour and Trade Union organisations, with some 200,000 members. Resolutions, condemning military and industrial compulsion, were unanimously passed, as was also a special resolution demanding the release of the Clyde deportees and other political prisoners. Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., and other speakers, vigorously condemned the Labour members for having joined the Lloyd-George Government. Mr. Anderson declared that the Labour Party would have been able to render greater service to the working classes by remaining outside the new Government. He added, " This is the general view in the Scottish Labour Movement, which has not forgotten that it was Mr. Lloyd George who, when Minister of Munitions, suppressed three Socialist week-

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lies and gave the order for the deportation of ten Trade Union officials who were suspected, but have not been proved, to be the promoters of industrial strife on the Clyde in the early months of this year."

The examples of the Lloyd-George dictatorship, to which Mr. Anderson refers, will still be fresh in the minds of readers. The suppression of *Forward*, because it published a truthful report of the reception accorded to the Minister of Munitions at Glasgow, was one of Scotland's first experiences of the new tyranny. This was quickly followed by the suppression of the *Vanguard*, edited by Mr. John M'Lean, and the seizure of *The Worker*, the organ of the Clyde Workers' Committee. Then came the deportation, without trial, of nine of the most prominent members of the Clyde Workers' Committee. This high-handed step, as might have been expected, created fresh trouble, and James Maxton and James M'Dougall, after a trial at Edinburgh, were each sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for having urged the workers to strike as a protest against the deportation. These terms of imprisonment have now been served, and Mr. M'Lean and Mr. M'Dougall have returned to freedom—such as it is—with their faith undimmed, and able to exercise a more powerful influence than ever before on behalf of the cause of Peace. One need not approve of the Syndicalist views of certain of the members of the Clyde Workers' Committee in order to understand the significance of the Glasgow revolt. These Syndicalist theories seem to me to be mischievous and reactionary, but the Clyde revolt itself was a warning note to the English Government, and a notable

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indication of the hostility among the industrial classes of Scotland to military and industrial conscription, and the regime of tyranny inaugurated by Mr. George.

During the whole course of the war, the Scottish Labour and Trade Union Journals have been vigorously, even aggressively, anti-militarist. *Forward*, which, under the editorship of Mr. Thomas Johnston, has acquired considerable influence, not in Glasgow only, but in Labour circles throughout the whole country, has taken a strong stand against tyranny and mediocrity in high places. Even the suppression of this democratic journal by Mr. George did not silence its trenchant criticism of the bunglers, whether in the Cabinet or in the ranks of the muzzled Labourists. *The Worker* has been suspended—temporarily at any rate—but *The Socialist* still hurls defiance at the shirkers, profiteers, and militarists. *The Scottish Farm Servant*—one of the best and most interesting of our Trade Union journals—has never bowed the knee in the House of Rimmon, and by its enlightened and helpful criticism of public affairs has done much to enable the farm-workers of the North to appreciate the perils with which Scottish Democracy is confronted. Even Labour Ministers have not yet discovered the truth underlying the philosophic remark of Tam Pow, "When ye bate yer plooshares into swords, ye're sure to reap dear grain." *The Scottish Co-operator*, while it has not been pacifist in the sense that the Quakers and the I.L.P. have been pacifist, has, nevertheless, maintained the best traditions of the working-class movement, and has taken a sane and enlightened view of the big problems with which Scottish Labour is confronted to-day.

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Such then is the position of the working-class movement in Scotland after more than two and a half years of war. The representatives of Scottish Labour in Parliament have cast in their lot with the Government, though not perhaps in a whole-hearted fashion. At the same time there is in Labour circles north of the Tweed a strong and a growing feeling of hostility to the militarist domination and to the new tyranny inaugurated by Mr. George. I do not say that the working classes of Scotland—or even a moderate majority of them—are pacifist in temperament, as the word “pacifist” has come to be understood to-day. The flower of Scotland’s manhood is fighting in the trenches of France and Belgium, and there is no Trade Unionist worthy of the name who would not, by every means in his power, strengthen the right arm of our Scottish soldiers. And they have done so. They would, I think, re-echo the words of the Ex-Premier that there can be no Peace in Europe till the original aims for which the Allies are said to be fighting have been attained. The working-classes of these islands went into the war with clean hands, and a Peace settlement which did not secure the legitimate aims of the Allies (*i.e.* National freedom and a “lasting Peace”) would be treachery to the honoured dead. But the peril with which Europe is confronted to-day is of quite a different kind. *There is a very real danger that the war will continue long after an honourable peace has become possible.*

“Is it necessary that the spring-tide shall be red?”
Is it necessary that thousands more of the bravest and best of our Scottish soldiers should become food for

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powder on the battle-fields of France? Does the cause of the Allies demand that millions more—old men and young—French, Scots, Irish, and English, Italian, Russian, and German—should blow the souls out of one another, as Thomas Carlyle would have said, before a settlement becomes possible? *Are not the dangers of a belated peace much greater to-day than the problematical perils of a premature settlement?* If premature peace is an insult to the dead, is not the continuance of the appalling slaughter even a single day longer than is necessary a crime against humanity and a menace to the future of Christendom?

These are the questions which thinking men in Scotland are asking to-day, questions which will be asked with growing insistence as the blood-red spring-tide merges into summer. For my own part, I have always felt that the question whether peace negotiations should be opened at once is largely a military one—largely, but not wholly so. If, as Sir Douglas Haig boasted indiscreetly, the Allies can break through the German lines, and that too at many places, the Herculean effort may be justified. That is a matter on which even the best-informed of civilians cannot speak with authority. Probably not half-a-dozen people outside the Higher Command have the necessary information to enable them to form an authoritative opinion on the subject. That is why I have always urged that the question at issue between the pacifists and the apologists for the English Government is to a large extent a military one. That is why among the working classes of Scotland there is a tacit, but uneasy, acquiescence in the military gamble on which all the

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belligerents have staked so much. Whether the results of the coming titanic blows will justify the tremendous sacrifices involved, a few weeks more will tell. At the same time it is not forgotten that the English Government and the military authorities have been confident of early success before now—and victory eluded them. Mr. Churchill's notorious "Eve of Victory" speech, and his braggart reference to "digging out the rats" are still fresh in the public memory. If, after the next great blow has been delivered on the Western front, we witness merely a repetition of the costly Loos "advance," or even the partial dent in the enemy lines which resulted from the Somme offensive, then indeed the futility of continuing a never-ending struggle may become apparent to all the belligerents. The Allies will undoubtedly be in the stronger position; they may have won a moral and diplomatic victory—a victory on points as the pugilists say—they may be in a position to secure by negotiation all their legitimate demands—and still it may be that a decisive, smashing military victory will once more elude them. And, notwithstanding the buoyant optimism of the Commander-in-Chief, that ending of the war is a plausible and probable one. As I have already said, however, that is a point on which the civilian can only speak tentatively and cautiously. I have touched on this point chiefly because I wish to emphasise what seems to me to be the predominant opinion among the working classes of Scotland—if the coming offensive fails, if the coming offensive is only a partial success, then the movement in favour of "Peace by negotiation" will soon become sufficiently strong to sweep

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before it all the frenzied, but futile, opposition of the pothouse politicians and last ditch patriots. In that coming reaction against the frenzied militarism of to-day the enlightened opinion of the Scottish Labour Party will exercise a powerful influence. The life-blood of Scottish heroes has dyed the plains of France and Flanders, the arid wastes of Gallipoli, and the valleys of Mesopotamia. Do the legitimate needs of the Allies demand a continuance of these terrible sacrifices? That is a question which must be answered definitely and decisively before the summer is over. For my own part I was one of those who believed that a settlement by negotiation would have been possible in the autumn of last year. Nothing that has happened since then has seriously shaken that conviction, although the dominant opinion in the counsels of the Allies decreed that the slaughter must continue. The maladroitness in which the German peace terms were put forward was admittedly responsible to a certain extent for strengthening the feeling against Peace negotiations.

Be that as it may, it is certain that the homicidal conflict in the trenches will one day or other—sooner or later—be followed by negotiations, and that these negotiations will end in Peace. The war can scarcely be regarded as a permanent industry. One day soon—in all human probability before this third blood-red year is over—the existing Government of these Kingdoms will shape its diplomacy towards Peace negotiations, and when that step is taken it will undoubtedly have the support of the overwhelming majority of the working classes of Scotland.

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With the cessation of hostilities the Labour Party will be confronted with a new and terrible responsibility. The Peace negotiations, the remaking of the map of Europe—the remaking, indeed, of the map of the world—will present a series of problems for European Statesmen even more momentous than the problems of war. An ambitious monarch, or a bungling diplomat, may precipitate a world-war; but Statesmanlike foresight, practical wisdom, and sage experience are necessary in order to rebuild the shattered fabric of European Peace. In the discussion of these problems it is imperative that the opinions of the working classes of Scotland should be voiced effectively. One looks in vain among the muzzled Labourists for the Statesmanlike qualities that the new situation demands. It is in the highest degree essential that the friends of peace should take prompt and effective steps to ensure that the framing of the settlement shall not be left entirely in the hands of the scheming politicians and bungling diplomatists who, with the aid of a sensation-mongering press, stampeded the nations into war.

It is probably too early yet to speak of the resuscitation of the "International." The old International movement has gone down, drenched in blood. Fools and blind! French and German Socialists proved their loyalty to Internationalism—to the Union of the Workers of the world—by burying their bayonets, nine inches of cold steel, in the breasts of their "comrades." The hatred and bitter animosity begotten by the war will not die down in a day or even in a generation. At the same time, when French and

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Austrian, English and German politicians and diplomats meet—as meet they must—to frame the Peace settlement, it should not be impossible to convene a great International gathering of representatives of Labour in all the belligerent nations to discuss in as friendly a fashion as the war spirit will permit, the tremendous problems with which Europe will be confronted. Even the most ardent anti-German who ever cursed the Kaiser might fittingly approve of such a step. At such a conference the working-class leaders of Scotland, England, Ireland, and Germany, who, even amid the din of battle, have held stedfastly to the Peace ideal, would necessarily be represented, and ought to exercise an abiding and helpful influence on the negotiations.

To Nationalists in particular, the after-war settlement is a matter of vital importance. The Allies were avowedly fighting the battle of “small nationalities.” In the re-making of the map of Europe it is necessary to insist that the rights of “the little peoples” shall be respected on both sides of the Alps and beyond the Ural Mountains as well. If the Settlement provides that no territory shall be transferred from one power to another without the approval of the inhabitants of that territory, a prolific cause of friction will have been avoided. Nationalism, moreover, is the only stable basis of a genuine International movement. There can be no internationalism without Nationalism. There can be no true Nationalism without effective Democratic control of the affairs of a nation by the chosen representatives of a free people. The failure of the old International was in large measure due to the absence of these necessary conditions. Until

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the democracies of Europe obtain effective control of the Governments of Europe there can be no true International movement—the workers are powerless to give expression to their pacific aspirations.

No one pretends that the Democracies of Europe are ready to usher in a warless era. They are not. The illusion that the working classes in the disputing nations would throw down their tools and strike against the threatened war has been rudely dispelled. It was made abundantly clear when the nations were hustled into Armageddon that the primitive herd instinct is stronger than appeals to reason. Without the tacit approval of the working classes of Europe the war would not have lasted a single week. We may jeer at the German workers as "cannon fodder," and picture them as driven into battle by the Prussian pistol—pitiable, dumb-driven cattle—but it is indisputably true, however much one may regret it, that in all the warring nations the masses were eager and ready for the slaughter. All Europe may have learned a terrible lesson, but it is idle to attempt to exonerate the working classes from a direct share of responsibility for the three terrible years of pillage and wholesale butchery. Only an enlightened and educated Democracy—a Democracy which has the inner light of spiritual conviction—can worthily usher in the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World. At the same time I am firmly convinced that the vast majority of the working classes of Europe incline to Peace rather than war, and that in the triumph of Nationalism and Democratic government would be found the surest guarantees of peace and the firmest bulwarks against

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militarist domination. That is why I have urged that—notwithstanding existing limitations and difficulties—an International Congress of Labour should be held concurrently with the Peace Conference. That is why I have insisted that such a Congress is both necessary and practicable. It is impossible, however, in the course of an incidental paragraph, to deal adequately with the problems of the Peace Settlement. All that I desire to do is to emphasise the importance of the National aspect of the question and the claims of the friends of peace and the representatives of the working classes to an effective voice in the Peace Settlement.

There are those who declare that the I.L.P. and the anti-militarist section of the Trade Union Movement will be a weak and discredited minority after the war. Mr. Frank Dilnot, in the course of an article in *The Westminster Gazette* on "The New Labour Movement after the War, says"—

"There will probably be changes in the personnel of Labour representation in the House of Commons. Some members will lose their seats, fresh members will come in. An increase in the total number may be looked for—though not a sensational increase. The pacifists, comprising many able men, may reassert themselves in the councils of the Party by joining in the new aims and relinquishing (in effect) old theories. Otherwise they condemn themselves to futility, perhaps to extinction. The dominating and controlling spirit of the Party will emanate from men of the type of Mr. J. R. Clynes, Mr. John Hodge, Mr. J. H. Thomas, men of decision, essentially practical men, who are not to be diverted by pleasing theories."

Mr. Bonar Law went even further, and predicted the extinction of the anti-war party at the polls.

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Speaking in the House of Commons recently he "went the length of prophesying that when the opportunity was given to the hon member (Mr. Philip Snowden) he would receive a number of votes only equal to that polled by the 'Peace by Negotiation' candidate at Rosendale." Such political prophecies are cheap and paltry, and I make no attempt in that respect to vie with the Canadian Scotsman who has been Mr. Lloyd-George's "right-hand man" in the new Government. It is not at all improbable that were an election to take place in the early summer, the War Party would sweep the country. One does not forget the khaki election during the South African War. Nothing would suit the war-party better than a repetition of that slim trick. It would in all likelihood give the dominant faction in the counsels of the nations a new lease of life, and that too before the big issues presented by the Peace Settlement had been adequately discussed by the Kingdoms. In all probability a furtive attempt will be made to force an appeal to the electorate under circumstances which would load the dice very heavily against the anti-militarist party. One already notes ominous movements in that direction.

To say, however, as Mr. Frank Dilnot says, that the leadership of the Party will fall into the hands of men of the type of Mr. Hodge would be grotesque and mirth-provoking, were it not that the crisis in the fortunes of the Labour Party—in Scotland as in England—is a matter of vital importance to the working classes of these Kingdoms. I harbour no such fears as to the future of the Labour Party. In

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intellectual vigour, in their mastery of Labour and Social questions, in zeal and general capacity—in all the qualities that make for leadership—the Peace Members, if we may so designate them, are head and shoulders above their erst-while colleagues who have gone over to the so-called “National” Government. Dull-witted mediocrity never leads, even though provided with a portfolio and arrayed in the garb of office. It was the Peace Members of the Labour Party who gave voice and vision to the new movement in the early days, and, whether in Parliament or out of Parliament, whether in office or out of office, they will be the real leaders of Labour. Nay, more. It must not be forgotten that, though the Peace Members were in direct opposition to the dominant feeling in political circles, they have retained the respect even of their enemies. Does anyone venture to make a similar claim on behalf of the official Labour Party? There may, under certain circumstances, be a temporary set-back to the pacifist section of the Labour movement, but that they will speedily recover their former position is just as certain as that to-morrow’s sun will rise.

The after-war situation will present new problems to the Labour Party, and indeed to all political parties. There may even be new lines of demarcation between the rival groups. Already, for example, there are indications that one or two of the Labour Members have been led astray by the Protectionist Will-o’-the-wisp. That, in itself, necessitates a complete break with the past traditions of the Party. There will, moreover, be a strong movement on both sides of the

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Tweed in favour of State Control of certain vital industries. The lessons of the war in that connection cannot be ignored by even the most purblind politicians.

A big struggle may also be anticipated over the vexed question of the restoration of Trade Union rights. In the industrial districts of the Clyde, in particular, that is a matter which is certain to arouse acute controversy. The war, too, has brought home even to the most dull-witted the vital importance of our agricultural industry, and the necessity for a drastic reform of our Land Laws. The big problem of demobilisation will also demand the active co-operation of statesmen, employers of labour, and Trade Union organisations. Co-operators are directly affected by the new problems of taxation, and it is gratifying to note in Scotland the growth of a strong movement in favour of direct Co-operative representation in Parliament.

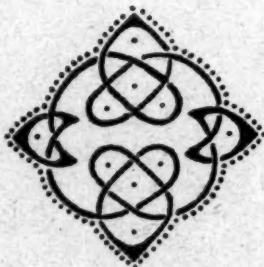
Last, and by no means least, the growing demand in Scotland for political independence—the increasing necessity for a federal system of Government—will have to be dealt with on sound Democratic lines. This is a matter to which the local Labour Parties in Scotland have not given sufficient attention in the past. They have talked of Internationalism and dreamed of Internationalism, but overlooked the first essential step towards that ideal. Once more let it be said, there can be no true Internationalism without Nationalism. And Scotland (nor Ireland, nor Wales) is not yet a nation in the governing sense.

These are some of the big problems with which the Labour Party in Scotland will be confronted on


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the advent of Peace. They demand for their solution the loyal and active co-operation of every section of the Labour movement, firm faith in Democratic principles even when the outlook seems dark and lowering, and unflagging zeal and devotion to the cause of truth and right on the part of the working classes of the North. Soon our gallant lads will be returning from the trenches. It rests with the Labour Party in Scotland to make the Motherland worthy of the tremendous sacrifices of the past terrible months—a free and independent nation, a fitting memorial to the gallant dead, and an honoured home for those who are left behind to “carry on” the fight for freedom.

A SCOTTISH TRADE UNIONIST.



To
Mary, Queen of Scots

 TIME cannot dull the sense of heinous shame
Calling through the blood-stained passion
roses
That flower the remembrance of thy name,
Cruel martyrdom thy life discloses.

Nought can be said to excuse the poses
Of their pristine thought and silence the blame
In the soul when the hand sadly closes
The legend of thy pain—pardon is lame.

It might have been her pleasure to beget
Sympathy for thy sad woes, hadst thou been
Even a menace to thy sister queen.

Sweet martyr on a thorn path snare beset,
Victim politic of sour jealousy
Relentless to thy surpassing beauty.

COMTE MICHEL DE ZOGHEB.

The Farmers of the South-West



THE average farmer in the south-west of Scotland is, physically, a very fine man. Strangers visiting the markets of Ayr, Newton Stewart, and Castle-Douglas are often surprised to see the large proportion of men of six feet in height, while the average stature must be over five feet ten inches. With their spare and sinewy frames, many of the farmers are models of athletic grace and symmetry. About thirty years ago Dr. Beddoe, the well-known anthropologist, stated that the natives of these parts were the tallest men in Scotland. The men of the parish of Balmaclellan, in the Stewartry, were found to be the tallest and heaviest men in Europe. The average height was almost six feet, and the average weight was about fourteen stone. At these gathering places of farmers I have mentioned, one observes few mean or unintelligent faces. Taking the Galloway man at his best, he is high of brow, aquiline of nose, with short upper lip, firm wide mouth, and strong jaw. His hair is dark brown, seldom black, and his eyes dark blue and clear. His mental characteristics are equally pronounced. He is not slow of speech, but has great fluency of utterance. His intelligence is not unmixed with cunning, and he has a profound delight in getting on the right side of a bargain. He will seldom tell a deliberate lie, but has a distaste for telling the whole truth, if something less than that

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will better serve his turn. He has a great fund of humour, and is usually a good story-teller. One of his strongest features is his admiration for intelligence. The man who rises in the world commands his respect more than any other, perhaps too much, because this passion is wont to be indulged, irrespectively of the means by which success is achieved.

These men are Celts, the descendants of the "Wild Scots of Galloway." It is not reasonable to suppose that all the characteristics of that fierce people have altogether vanished from their descendants, but, taking them as a whole, the farmers of the south-west are as urbane and well-spoken a set of men as any of their class in Scotland. Indeed, in old Ayrshire, the Galloway men were always accused of being too sweet to be wholesome. Whenever you meet a brusque pushing sort of person in Galloway, you may be tolerably sure that he is an incomer. Those who have the old blood of the province are invariably men of much geniality and natural politeness. Their hospitality is unbounded. There are many farmers who may be said to keep open house all the year round, so continuous is the stream of callers, who are all treated to the best the house can provide. In one respect hospitality nowadays is more moderate, and more intelligently exercised than was formerly the case. At the present day, few farmers are anything but moderate drinkers, and, among the younger men, many are total abstainers. Accordingly, the bottle is not so often produced, and when it is, it is more sparingly partaken of.

As far back as I can remember there was, until a

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few years ago, much pessimism among farming families as to the prospects of the calling. All my own folk, on both sides, were farmers in that southern district of Ayrshire which of old was included in the province of Galloway, and no matter who it was that had the say at the moment at fireside discussions, the advice was invariably the same—"Get the lads away to the towns; put them to anything, as long as you don't let them stay at home." The cry was, that there was no money in farming—nothing but hard work all your days, and little to show when the best in a man was spent. So the fiat went forth that lads should be given "an education," and put to the local bank, or placed in a city office, if they had a kinsman of sufficient influence to give them a start, or, failing this, they should be sent to the "pack" (*i.e.*, the credit drapery trade in England). The last-mentioned employment was, however, long past its palmy days when I was a youth. Before the decline set in, many a packman returned to his native district in early middle life with a capital of £5,000 or £10,000, and set up as a gentleman farmer. As a rule, however, the advice which was lavished on such of us as belonged to the younger generation fell on deaf ears. When one is come of a stock that has been rooted in the soil time out of mind, and is at the age when the handling of a pair of Clydesdales seems the grandest thing on earth, it is not easy to persuade a lad, whose instincts are all for the country, the clean sweet air of the fields, and the homely merriments of the rustic ball, that the better and the finer life is to add up figures in a city office, or to go to the Academy—notwith-

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standing that the University and a brow profession may stand on the other side of the curtain. At all events, in spite of all discouragements, all my kinsmen and contemporaries stuck to the soil. I alone broke with the land and went to town, and though I know well enough that the farmer's life would never suit me, and that my heart is all for other ways and different arts, yet many is the time I feel welling up within me a sudden tenderness, an involuntary yearning, for the old life on the Ayrshire fields which my ancestors tilled so long.

This evening, as I write, visions of the farmhouses among which I spent my boyhood rise up before me. Kinder, better people never lived than lived in those homesteads. Sharp tempers and keen tongues some of them might have, but it was pleasant and wonderful to see how they mellowed as they waxed in years and passed into a sweet and serene old age. I have been in many parts of the world since those days, but I think that in that quiet old parish there was a life just as worthy and honourable as any I have ever seen. Most of those families that I knew had been settled in our neighbourhood for many generations. The lairds were the merest incomers, compared with the tenants. No one was very rich, but all had the means to live comfortably. Scandal among the farming families was practically unknown, and the social atmosphere was remarkably pure. On entering the sitting-room of one of these plain moderately-sized farm-houses, one saw at a glance that here there lived, or had existed, men of thought and reading. Behind their glass doors the old bookcases showed many a

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volume of theology, history, and biography, the mental provender of the farmer's forebears. Placed more conveniently to hand, and bearing marks of more frequent use, were volumes of lighter literature, among which there frequently figured a good selection of poetry and modern fiction. Here, you would be pretty sure to find *Jane Eyre*, *Lorna Doone*, *The Scottish Chiefs*, and, of course, the works of Burns. The girls of the household pored over the stories of Mrs. Braddon, Augusta Evans Wilson, and the Rev. E. P. Roe. The periodicals the most favoured were the *Quiver*, *British Weekly*, and *Chambers's Journal*.

It was not without reason that the old farmers were pessimistic touching the future of their calling. Twenty years of hard times had set their mark on the district. "Yin to saw, yin to gnaw, and yin to pey the laird witha'," was all that the average small farmer could wring from a year's heroic toil. Our neighbours were none of your big farmers who farm their thousands of acres. They themselves wrought harder than any man in their employ. Their mild diversion consisted in a day at the "ice-playing" or a quiet "glass" with a neighbour, when they forgathered in the town. For years on end, the business accounts of some of them showed a balance on the wrong side, but they struggled on, and managed to bring up their families creditably, and to preserve a cheerful countenance through it all. They never despaired for themselves, though they might counsel their sons to abandon what seemed a languishing, even a dying, industry.

About the year 1910 came the first decided change

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for the better, and ever since the farming industry has shown an upward tendency. In my native parish the farmers are now making money fast, but they are not spending a penny more than they used to do in pre-war times. They were brought up in too stern a school not to be suspicious of a prosperity which may not last.

Farmers' dwelling-houses are of all kinds, from large cots to small mansion houses. Let us consider one that is familiar to me as a fair specimen of the humbler sort. It may have been built a hundred years ago. It consists of a kitchen, a "room," a wee bedroom, and a pantry, on the ground floor; and two attic bedrooms. The house reeks of damp, and, until a short time ago when some long over-due repairs were at last done, dark stains abounded on the walls, and loose paperings fluttered in the draught. The outhouses are in keeping—small, old-fashioned, and inconvenient. In front of the dwelling-house is the garden—large, but almost useless for cultivation, and overgrown with willow-bushes and nettles. The extent of the holding is 300 acres, of which the greater part is moorland. The rent is about £65. The farmer started his tenancy of this holding with a capital of about £150. That was a quarter of a century ago, and he is now worth probably £1000. This is regarded as an excellent result for 25 years' work. Special favouring circumstances, however, have greatly aided him in attaining it. In spite of the damp house, none of the household has ever had a day's illness, a happy result which is doubtless to be attributed, not to the landlord's care, but to the finest and most bracing air

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in all Scotland. The family of this particular farmer cost him but little as regards their upbringing, and placing out in life. Yet, these aids and advantages would have benefited him but little had they not been supplemented by his own untiring energy, his skill in stock, and shrewdness in bargaining. His wage-bill was never large. At times he had in his service a servant-lad at, perhaps, £8 for the half-year, but for years past now he has found it possible to work his holding single-handed, only employing casual labour. It is to such farms as these that tinkers are accustomed to resort, and at times of peat-cutting, hay and corn harvest, turnip shawing and potato lifting, a hardy old ex-soldier is generally to be found at work on this farm. The ex-soldier's wage, together with the cost of the hire of a mower and hay-winner for the summer work, represents the amount of our farmer's spendings on outside assistance. His wife, assisted by her daughter, manages the small dairy of half-a-dozen cows. The daughter also sometimes gives a hand in the fields. Of course the revenue derived from such a farm as this does not run to any large figure. Eight or ten years ago, even if, out of his hundred ewes or so, the farmer succeeded in realising as many as ninety lambs to take to market, the sale would probably only realise £80. His annual sale of ten or eleven queys would give him other £80 or £90. His wool-clip would bring in £10 or £11. These were his principal sources of income. Not omitting a few extras, the total would reach about the treble of the rent, which must be won in order that the farmer may make a living. In the present year the figures I give will

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be much exceeded, and I should estimate my friend's incomings for the year at £300. This man is a good example of what can be done by a small farmer who runs his holding mainly by means of his own two hands. Needless to say, however, many another man in the same place might well fail to make good. Until 1914 a great many farmers were not doing much more than making ends meet, but the war has brought about conditions by virtue of which the farmer must flourish, though it be in spite of himself.

Such is a fair specimen of the small Galloway farmer class. There are not many crofters left in the south-west. As a rule the crofter makes of his few acres but headquarters, from which to go forth to earn the greater part of his living by working for other men. Labour being always scarce, he finds his services in much request. At the peat-cutting he can have his 5/-, or at war rate 7/-, a day, with all found. Taking a contract for hay-mowing, he can, by swinging the scythe for fourteen hours a day, make £3 a week clear. At harvest, six shillings a day is his wage. Townspeople may be surprised to learn that such high wages are paid in lonely out-of-the-way localities, but they are apt to overlook the fact that, as far as money-wages are concerned, the conditions under which the farm-servant works have considerably improved within the last decade. Some crofters, and also a good many farmers' sons, are accustomed to supplement their earnings by taking up, temporarily, other employments. Rabbit-catching is one such occasional source of income. To carry heavy loads of rabbits for miles, as the men often have to do, requires exceptional

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strength, but £5 a week can often be made in this way, board and lodging being thrown in. Again, a couple of men, strong enough to work many hours a day ankle deep in water, subsist on bread and tea, and sometimes sleep in old disused cothouses and barns, can make £50 between them by taking a two months' draining contract in the hills. I know a case in which a moorland farmer's son earned, before he was twenty-one, £100 by means of these rabbit-catching and draining contracts.

The farming aristocracy of the south-west is principally located in the Rhinns of Wigtownshire, and around the county town of Kirkcudbright. Entering the steading of a well-to-do Wigtownshire farmer one is at once struck by the difference presented between it and the bare, uninviting, and it must be admitted, ill-kept steading of the average hill-farmer. In the former, order and cleanliness reign supreme, and the effects of the presence of a large and well-organised staff are everywhere agreeably manifest. Range after range of outbuildings present themselves to the eye, all being obviously constructed with a view to convenience and efficiency. Yonder are the cotmen's well-built houses. Almost do they form a hamlet of themselves. The dwelling-house gives evidence of more than comfort; it bespeaks a certain measure of even luxury. It generally contains two or three public rooms, four or five bedrooms, and a bathroom. Almost every farmer in the favoured Rhinns district is at least well off, and many of them are even rich, as "riches" are ranked among farmers.

On many of the farms in this part of Scotland,

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the families now occupying them have been settled for generations, and in those cases in which each successive generation has bequeathed some increase to the family heritage, the latter is now of considerable extent. Moreover, not a few families have been enriched by legacies bequeathed by packmen who made fortunes in England. And so here, as elsewhere, the pressure of hard times, conjoined with the superior luck of the big ones of the earth, has driven the small men from the soil. They whose fortunes rest upon a solid foundation have here, as elsewhere, added farm to farm, with the result that many of the successful men are now tenants of from three to seven or eight holdings each. Indeed, one sheep-farmer in Kirkcudbrightshire is credited with the tenancy of twenty farms. In Wigtownshire alone, a certain farming-firm pays some £3000 of rent. Such rentals as these imply, of course, business transactions on a scale which is entirely outside the compass of the small farmer. At Castle-Douglas mart every Monday farmers attend whose ordinary dealings run into hundreds of pounds. These men, too, have many sources of income. From their dairies of from 50 to 100 cows they rail daily a large quantity of milk to Glasgow, for which they are paid at the rate of 1/3 or 1/4 per gallon, the pre-war prices being 10d and 11d. Others who devote themselves to cheese-making, and who in former years obtained 60/- per cwt. of cheese, have also greatly benefited by the war. Two years ago the price of cheese, as sold by the farmer, was up to 80/-, but latterly sales have taken place by which the farmer realised at the rate of 105/- per cwt., the hand-

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some difference doubtless eventually coming out of the pocket of the unfortunate consumer. It has further to be observed that in certain favoured districts the farmers make a very good thing out of the growing of early potatoes, while others breed cattle as their staple industry. The farmers of Galloway have been greatly assisted towards prosperity by reason of the fact that the land is not highly rented. In districts such as Aberdeenshire (where, I was recently told, with a great deal of emphasis, *the farmers pay for their land*), the natives of those parts would be considerably astonished at the low average per acre paid by some of our tenants. Possessing this initial great advantage, many of them have been able to rear valuable herds of pedigree cattle, and do a large export business to Japan, the Argentine, and elsewhere. Agricultural magnates of this class do not, it may readily be imagined, soil their own hands with field labour. In motor-cars they whirl along the country roads on errands of business and pleasure, while a trusted foreman carries on the work of the farm, in accordance with his master's morning instructions. At all the great national and provincial shows the big men are much in evidence, debonair and prosperous-looking.

I have already alluded to the bad policy of throwing many farms into the hands of one man. Nowadays the watchword of "Food-production" is much in the mouths of landlords and farmers. Yet, before the war, they cared mighty little about Food-production, judging by their past actions. The lairds and wealthy farmers who are so glib of tongue and so solicitous for the public welfare are the very men who, in pre-war

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days, set out to decrease food-production by adding farm to farm, and turning miles of cultivatable land into grazing ground. If the landlords who were so prominent, and, in some cases, so impudently abusive, on recruiting platforms in the early days of the war—if, I say, these howling "patriots" had done their duty in peace times, Galloway would this day be a much better tilled and a better populated province than it now is. But the landlord policy has always been to favour the large at the expense of the small farmers, with the result that many of the former now have more land than they can properly use, while the small farmer has emigrated to Canada. The more enterprising of the farm-servant class, too, seeing no prospect of bettering their condition at home, are leaving Scotland for the Colonies, or seeking employment in Glasgow, while the remnant is in grave danger of deteriorating in consequence of being debarred from responsibility, and all hope of rising in the world. The sort of discouragement of which the class with which I am now dealing is the frequent victim, is illustrated by a case which has recently come under my personal notice. A competent and saving man (a ploughman) has managed to save enough money to enable him to take a small farm. Many times he offered for such suitable small places as have come into the market, but on every occasion laird and factor preferred the man with the big capital, and our would-be Food-producer has at last given up in despair. This man will have to toil on to the end of his days as a servant; but, apart altogether from the purely personal aspect of the case, there is this to consider,

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that a contingent further result of shutting out this man from the land is that yet another family will probably be lost for ever to the soil, for is it in the least degree likely that his sons will cleave to a calling which denies them the means of making an independent livelihood?

I know a certain moorland district where, within the space of no more than two miles square, there once existed two farmhouses, two cottages, a meal-mill, a cloth-mill, and a smithy. Not so long ago this must have been quite a lively bustling place, but to-day only the two farmhouses remain, and if I mistake not, the probabilities are that ere long one of the farms will be joined to another. The population that once sustained these mills and smithy has all disappeared. Surely something should, and could, have been done to save it. Where once were the familiar sounds of human beings, little is now to be heard save the cries of the moorfowl.

The Galloway farmer is not, as a rule, a highly educated man. In the majority of cases he has received exactly the same education as his servants have had. Nowadays, most of the farmers who wish (and what Scotsman does not?) to give their children the benefit of a better schooling than they themselves received send them for a couple of years to the local Academy, or allow them to attend a few terms at an Edinburgh school.

I have said something touching the reading taste of the people inhabiting my native parish. Of courses there are readers and non-readers among farmers, as among every other class, but candour obliges me to

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acknowledge that few of the farmers I know are great bookmen, though nearly all are voracious newspaper-readers. A tolerable few, however, acquire a taste for serious literature as they grow up in years, and are no longer capable of doing much active work. Farmers, too, there are whose literary tastes run strongly in the direction of history, and I know a family in which father and son have alternately read Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* at least a dozen times. I am inclined to think, however, that the departing generation read more sound literature than do either the risen, or the rising, generation. The old people had undoubtedly more time for serious reading, as their leisure hours were not taken up with the newspapers which now daily flood the country, and reach the homes of even the most sequestered herds. Still, in spite of the popularity of the cheap periodical press, collections of books are occasionally sold at dispenishing sales in out-of-the-way parts of the province which would appear extraordinary in any country save Scotland and Wales. From such homesteads as those I have in mind, a collector secured a first edition of Keats. Among the novelists, Scott, Dickens, and Charles Lever, were prime favourites, while as regards more serious literature, Rollin's *Ancient History*, McCrie's *Life of Knox*, and Napier's *Peninsular War* frequently figure in these sales. For the most part, however, the farmer contents himself with the *Glasgow Herald* and the local weekly newspaper. He takes a keen interest in, and holds pronounced opinions on all the public questions of the day, but, as might be expected, considering the nature of his cultural circumstances and environment, his opinions

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are never much out of the common groove. With regard to public affairs in general, I may add that it is among the smaller farmers that I have noticed the most independence of thought, and liberality of view.

But, no matter what his standing or education, I have never yet met a south-western farmer who was not able, and ready, to discuss, with fair intelligence, the affairs of the nations. And though the Agriculturists of all countries are generally supposed to be averse to change, yet our farmers are, for the most part, not so much rigidly conservative as in favour of gradual progress. The majority have, for many years now, voted Conservative at General Elections, though, in Wigtownshire, this is partly due to the fact that the country is divided into a few very large estates, which renders the territorial influence of the landlords considerable. The tenantry, accordingly, vote Tory with a view to standing well with those who have favours to dispose of, this habit of theirs being, doubtless, made the easier by reason of the deep-seated—and, by the way, well-founded—conviction everywhere prevailing that it matters little whether Liberal or Conservative is sent to represent the constituency in the London Parliament. Moreover, the influence of ancestry is as strong among us as it is wherever Scotsmen are to be found. To change political sides would be commonly regarded as well-nigh an act of treachery to one's forefathers. An old farmer that I knew was once offered a fine farm on the estate of an English gentleman who had taken a fancy to him. There being, however, a condition attached to the offer, that the Scot should vote with

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his prospective new landlord's party, the would-be gift-horse was looked in the mouth and promptly rejected as being unsound. Proud of his Liberal and Cameronian heritage, the Scot indignantly replied that he would not vote Tory for the best farm in England. Yet this man was by no means an ardent Liberal. It was doubtless a vision of the humiliation involved by the loss of his political independence that excited his ire. Generally speaking, then, our west-country farmers have much manly independence of character; and beneath a smooth exterior and considerable heartiness and bonhomie of manner, there is fire and dourness which are easily roused.

A Stewartry parish minister said not long ago that lying was a well-developed Galloway trait. Doubtless, that was a hard thing to say, but candour obliges me to admit that it has a foundation of truth. As I have already observed, our Galloway people will seldom tell a deliberate lie; that is far too clumsy and inartistic a weapon of speech for them to use. On the other hand, there is an excessive tendency among them to wish to keep fair with the person they are talking to, to agree with his opinions for the sake of good fellowship, while all the time their private sentiments are running in an entirely different direction. Among themselves, this is a characteristic which is thoroughly well understood, and all due allowance is accordingly made for it, but strangers who visit this part of Scotland without knowing anything about the local tendency to flattery, are very apt to be misled, and, when undeceived, to think harshly of the natives, since nothing is so galling to individual human pride as the con-

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sciousness of having been deceived. So, in Galloway, a stranger may go far and converse with many without meeting one who will contradict him outright. The natives will willingly engage in conversation with him—the true Galloway man being always ready to talk, and even to lay aside his work for the sake of “a crack.” They will politely defer to his opinions, and amiably admit there is a deal in what the stranger says that is worthy of consideration, but all the time the old opinions remain unbroken, and the laugh, which will presently be exploded at the stranger’s expense will be forming in the sleeve of the seeming convert to opportunism. In fine, though possessing sterling qualities, the Galloway character tends rather to disingenuousness than to outspoken simplicity.

As to the patriotism of the farmers—and readers of *The Scottish Review* will require no advertisement as to the sort of patriotism I mean—I can at present say little that is definite. The average Gallwegian is proud of being a Scotsman. “We are Scotsmen, and we want our rights without bowing and scraping to any man,” quoth a farmer at a meeting that I attended a week or two ago. This man’s effort at the correlation of Scots nationality with personal independence was the result of a sentiment that is general amongst us; and though the larger idea of complete national independence would doubtless, were it broached to him, present itself to him as by no means a new idea, yet is it none the less true to say that it is one which, in a certain sense, would be wholly unfamiliar to him. The national movement has, therefore, practically virgin soil to break, so far as the agriculturists of the south-

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west of Scotland are concerned, though I am convinced that once the soil were turned, it would be fruitful enough. The farmers, however, know as yet little, if anything, of the movement. As I have already stated, they get their daily news from the pages of the *Glasgow Herald*, a journal which, though punctiliously "British" as to its phraseology, and to that extent at least hostile to English "bounce" and Saxon impertinence, yet punctiliously and scrupulously refrains from giving encouragement to any political movement of a strictly national character. The men of the South-west have doubtless heard, many times and oft, that there is such a thing in existence as a movement in favour of Scottish Home Rule. The subject is occasionally dealt with, in a vague and distant fashion, by their parliamentary representatives, who refer to it in their speeches, only, presumably, in order to enable them the more plausibly to drop it into oblivion the moment they descend from the platform. But, slow as farmers are apt to be to form new opinions, I am persuaded that they, like other classes in Scotland, only require a vigorous lead in order to the conversion of their passive sympathy with nationalism to a lively and aggressive patriotism. And with proper leadership, as an essential condition to success, I ought here to link *knowledge*, for at present the farmers of the South-west are woefully ignorant touching (1) the racial and other foundations of this monarchy; and (2) the scandalous and unscrupulous manner in which, to use Rosebery's expression, Scotland is milked by the "predominant partner." This necessary task of general enlightenment ought to be rendered the easier by reason of the

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fact that of late the eyes of Scottish agriculturists have been turned to Edinburgh rather than to London—a change which, so far as it goes, is distinctly favourable to nationalism. Moreover, the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture, which may justly be described as our agricultural parliament, is now become a great debating assembly, while the recently formed National Farmers' Union promises to outstrip even the Chamber as regards the vigour of its proceedings and the drastic nature of its provisions. A further sign of the times is, that the Scottish Board of Agriculture, a fairly energetic and progressive body, and one which, doubtless, would do far more good than it has as yet been able to achieve, provided that the necessary funds were placed at its disposal, has already done much, in the eyes of the farmers of the South-west, and, indeed, in those of the agriculturists of all Scotland, to restore to Edinburgh something of that prestige which formerly attached to her as the capital of the Kingdom.

H. G. MACCREATH.



The Starving of Scottish Science



THE settled stinginess of the Southern Kingdom is nowhere better shown than in its treatment of Scottish Science in the matter of grants. English Government Grants to English Scientific Societies and workers are not by any means what they ought to be. They fall far short in amount and extent of the equivalent grants given by the Governments of the United States of America and of Germany for the furtherance of scientific research in those countries ; but we must remember that the United States and Germany are countries where the people and the Governments know the value and national importance of scientific work. English Government grants for English Science are princely compared with the beggarly pittance doled out by the same Government for Scottish science. In proof of my assertion, let us take the case of three well-known Societies in Scotland, and compare the grants they obtain with the grants given to the three analogous bodies in England. The three Scottish Societies are—the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Scottish Meteorological Society, and the Royal Geographical Society of Scotland. The three corresponding English bodies are—the Royal Society, the Meteorological Office, and the Royal Geographical Society. It is possible that here some one may raise the puerile objection that these are " British " Societies,

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and not purely "English" Societies. The answer is, that in this case, as in so many others, "British" and "English" are practically synonymous terms.

In the financial year 1915-16, the Royal Society of Edinburgh received a grant of £600, while the English Royal Society received the sum of £22,425, that is to say, more than thirty-seven times as much. It should be said that the English figure includes the sum of £1000 for the Magnetic Observatory at Eskdalemuir, in Dumfriesshire, which is under the control of the English society.

The financial disparity between the treatment of the two meteorological bodies is even more glaring. In 1915-16, the Scottish Meteorological Society received a paltry £100, while the corresponding English body received £22,500, exactly 225 times as much. As regards the Geographical Societies, the Scottish society does not come off so badly as compared with the Royal and the Meteorological Societies. In the same financial year, it received £200, while the grant to the corresponding English body amounted to £1250. But in case anyone should entertain the idea that, comparatively speaking, all is well financially with Scottish geographical work, it is necessary to bear in mind the treatment meted out to the Antarctic expedition referred to below.

The total sum given as Government grants in 1915-16 to the three Scottish Societies is £900, while the total for the three corresponding English Societies amounts to £46,175, more than fifty-one times as much, a proportion out of all relationship to the population and the revenue of the two countries on the one hand, and to the value of the work done on the other.

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The figures for previous financial years show a similar gross disparity. Thus, in 1914-15, while the three Scottish Societies received their £900, the three English Societies received £46,800, exactly fifty-two times as much. For some years the figures have varied, but very little. The financial neglect of Scottish Science on the part of the English Government is a scandal of long standing. In fact, for a period of fifteen years, the English Royal Society received grants, while the Scottish Society received nothing. The grant to the English Society was started in 1851, and for the first few years it was merely a tentative arrangement. In 1856-7, however, the grant became definitely fixed for the time being at £1000. Not till ten years later did the Royal Society of Edinburgh receive its first grant of £300. The grant to the Scottish society, *once it was started*, was not so disproportionate as it has become since. Originally it was only slightly less than a third of the grant to the English society. Now, as stated above, the latter Society gets more than fifty-one times the amount given to the Edinburgh society.

It may be objected that the Meteorological Office does work covering the whole of the Three Kingdoms. That is so, but it does not altogether remove the ground of our complaint as Scotsmen. The work is *mainly* English. The money is spent almost entirely in England, and chiefly benefits England. Yet the money comes from the general revenue of the Three Kingdoms, to which Scotland contributes more than her fair share already. Nevertheless, for every £100 the English Government gives to the Scottish Meteorological

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Society, it gives the essentially English Meteorological Office the sum of £22,500, as in the year 1915-16, or £20,000 as in 1914-15. The financial injustice of the matter is accentuated all the more when we recollect that some years ago a grant towards the upkeep of the Ben Nevis Observatory was refused, and the Observatory, where much valuable material had been accumulated, had to be closed in consequence.

Now, let us consider the treatment accorded to the Antarctic Expedition of 1902-04, undertaken by Scottish scientists, under the able leadership of Dr. Bruce. The expenses of this expedition were entirely met by money raised in Scotland. The work it accomplished was valuable in the extreme. Lest anyone should think that I am overstating the matter merely because the expedition was a Scottish one, I will quote in support of my contention from the English scientific periodical, *Nature* (Vol. xciii., p. 218) "The discovery by the *Scotia* of Coats Land (it said) is generally recognised as the most important addition to our knowledge of the boundaries of the Antarctic continent that has been made by the Antarctic expeditions of this century." The same journal also remarked that the expedition "made collections and oceanographic observations of the highest importance," and, further, "it settled the position of the coast in the one part where there was no clue to its situation."

The expenses of the expedition itself were met by Scottish money, as already stated. Towards the expenses of publication of the results obtained, the Government made a small grant. In 1914, in order to complete the remaining volumes dealing with these

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scientific results, a further grant of £3800 was applied for. In support of the application, letters were sent by all the more important scientific bodies in Scotland and by the leading scientific men. The grant was refused. As *Nature* cautiously admitted, "There certainly seems good ground for the complaint that the Scottish expedition has not received its fair share of support from the Treasury" (xciii. 219).

A few years ago there was another Antarctic expedition, the loudly trumpeted Shackleton expedition, one of the objects of which was the mainly spectacular one of reaching the South Pole. Now, the desire to reach the Pole is quite as natural and as justifiable as the desire to reach the summit of the Matterhorn is to the Alpinist, or to reach the top of a Highland "ben" is to many a wanderer in the glens. At the same time, from a purely scientific point of view, nothing much is to be gained by a journey to the Pole. Such a journey is very largely in the nature of playing to the gallery, a feat of calisthenics to the attractions of which the English mob, whether of high or low degree, is peculiarly susceptible. Any performance of that kind is sure of support from the average Englishman, who, further, has never shewn much understanding or appreciation of the value of scientific research, largely in consequence of his own very faulty educational system. The members of the average English Government are not a whit more enterprising or intelligent than the English "man in the street" in this respect. English scientists themselves frequently complain with perfect justice of the neglect of Science by English Governments. Thus, partly

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because of the spectacular element, and partly because it was mainly an English expedition, and not a Scottish one, this Shackleton expedition received in grants far more money than was refused to the expedition of Dr. Bruce. In 1914-15, within a few months of the refusal of a grant towards the publication of the results of the *Scotia* expedition, a grant of £5000 was given to the Shackleton expedition. Up to 1915, some £45,000 in all was given in the way of grants to the latter. I do not suggest for a moment that this amount was too much, so far as the purely scientific results were concerned, although I very much doubt whether anything like that amount would have been given if it had not been for the sensational and spectacular object of reaching the Pole. My whole point is, that Scottish Science, as compared with English, receives far less than its fair share.

The financial neglect of Scottish Science is merely a particular instance of the general neglect of Scottish interests on the part of the English Government. For that state of affairs there is only one remedy, which is that Scotsmen should unite to give a Scottish Government full powers to deal with the affairs of Scotland. Home Rule, as usually proposed, does not give such powers. It leaves financial power mainly in England's hands, and the man or the country with the power of the purse usually, *ceteris paribus*, wins in the long run. If Scotsmen wish to see their country fairly dealt with, and to recover the position that is hers by indefeasible right, they must not merely amend the Act of Union, as Home Rule does, but they

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must do away with it altogether. The Parliament of Scotland, which was merely adjourned, and not abolished, in 1707, must meet again in full possession of its original powers.

H. C. MACNEACAIL.



The Pictish Stones Mystery

A Suggested Solution



CATTERED over Pictish Scotland, the home of that strange early race, now held by some authorities to be the original Fairy people and akin to the Eskimos and Basques, are the famous Sculptured Stones. In all, there are several hundreds, and many of the finest specimens are in Ancient Angus.

Up to the middle of last century the origin and meaning of the Sculptured Stones were enveloped in mystery, but about that time Dr. Stuart, in his well-known work, offered a solution of the problem.

It was left, however, to an ex-rural schoolmaster, a native of Arbroath, and afterwards better known as the late Dr. Joseph Anderson, of the National Museum of Antiquities and the doyen of Scottish Archaeologists, to furnish what up to the time of writing has passed as the standard explanation.

He that would understand Celtic Scotland must study the memorials of Ancient Ireland.

The general system of ornamentation was found to be derived from Irish MSS. of the Gospels, which in their turn had their inspiration in Classical and Eastern sources.

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On many of the stones we have the well-known interlaced work, intricate diverging spiral scrolls, and strange zoomorphic shapes, which last Dr. Anderson proved to be illustrations of the mediaeval "Bestiaries," one of the earliest forms of our literature, those quaint accounts of animals in prose and verse under which lay spiritual meanings of good and evil, every good and bad quality in man having its respective animal symbol. Our Saviour is represented as the Unicorn, whose one horn typifies the Gospel truth of unity with the Father, and also even more strangely as the panther, "the sweet-breathed, lonely, harmless beast." Even the spirited hunting scenes depicted have their spiritual meaning, the pursuit and conquest of evil. Is it possible that Francis Thompson derived the idea of his *Hound of Heaven* from this source? Many other objects are also represented, from those of the commonest utility, such as hammers and blacksmith's pliers, up to the mirror, comb, and pastoral staff of the ecclesiastic.

There are, however, a number of emblems regarding whose presence on the stones no reasoned explanation has yet been furnished. These are peculiar to the Pictish area, and evidently belong to a localised art which Dr. Anderson could make nothing of, leaving, as he stated, their interpretation to the despairing hazard of a "fortunate guess."

The chief of these are the so-called Z and V-shaped broken rods, the Crescent and the "Spectacle" ornament or double disc.

The present writer has no doubt that by the rod is emblemised a broken javelin, spear, or sceptre,

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appropriate emblems for a burial place in a warlike age, the proof being found in the illustrated MSS. of the period to which the stones are held to belong—that is to say, probably from the seventh to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

With reference to the V-shaped rod, it is of interest to note that in the Irish folk-tale of Dermot and Grania the dead hero was carried on a golden bier, with javelins on either side, having the points up, and where this emblem occurs on the stones the point is invariably up.

Sometimes the spear is found, and sometimes the sceptre. The incised monuments are supposed to be earlier than those in low relief, and it is on these that we find the former emblem, while on the later stones, as at Aberlemno, the sceptre head has developed into an actual crown, this being probably the very latest form.

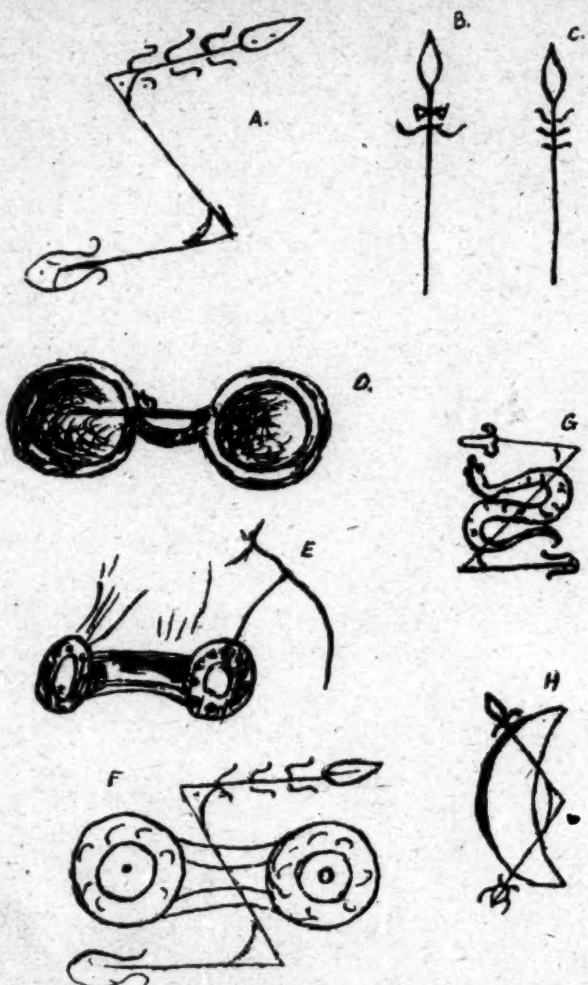
In an illustration of an eleventh-century book of prayers, "The King upon His throne," the spear, compared with the size of the human figure, seems to be about six feet in length. To represent such a weapon on the stone the double break would require to be shown, thus producing the Z shape. The inside curve, indicated in my illustration, shows how an ash shaft, not too well seasoned, would break. The flowing lines below the spear-head are puzzling to the observer, but such floriated guards can be seen in a group of Saxon warriors in the Harleian MS. (603 A.D.).

The question may be asked why the royal emblem should be so often used, seeing that the numerous stones in Eastern Scotland could not all mark graves

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of Kings. The suggested solution of this problem is that the King is Death, the King of Terrors, and it is not a little significant that the rod, no matter how represented, is never found by itself, being invariably associated in superposition with three emblems, the Serpent, the Crescent, and the Double Disc. To explain its connection with the serpent on a Christian monument, though, of course, that symbol may date back to pre-Christian times, is not difficult. Nor is it so to explain its connection with the emblems of totemism or serpent worship. It has here a biblical meaning, *i.e.*, the serpent brought death into the world. We know that the early fathers of the Church were very expert at adapting things of heathen significance to a Christian use. Thus, Pope Gregory writes to a British abbot, "For there is no doubt that it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds, because he who endeavours to ascend to the highest place rises by degrees or steps, and not by leaps."

Regarding the "Crescent," there is no doubt that it is the moon that is represented, although it is sometimes, for purposes of ornamental balance, set in an unnatural position. At Dunfallandy, both the crescent and waning moon are shown on the same stone. The worship of the moon goddess, the Astarte of the Bible, was observed among the ancient Celts, being probably derived from a Phoenician source. According to a classical author, it was on the sixth day of the moon that the Druids cut the mistletoe with their golden sickles, and we find yet traces of this cult in certain superstitious ideas associated with the moon, and still current, at least in rural districts.



- A. So-called *Z* or Rod Ornament.
 B. Spear-head from Harleian MS.
 C. Reproduction of actual Spear-head of period.
 D. Bronze Brooch—pre-Christian.
 E. German Morse Brooch.
 F. Spectacle Ornament—double disc.
 G. Serpent and *Z* Ornament.
 H. Crescent and Rod.

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But why should the Crescent have the broken rod always joined on to it? We know the immense importance attached by the Early Church to the Easter Festival, the chief movable feast, which fixed all the others. How more simply, then, could the Easter season, together with the central doctrine of the Resurrection, be kept before the eyes of an illiterate age than by representation of the moon, and along with it the broken rod, with a view to impressing the fact of our Saviour's death?

And here, when we remember the paramount influence of St. Columba in the religious life of Pictish Scotland, we would appear to be face to face with facts of peculiar significance. The ordinary history text-book shows us the Columban monks driven over the Grampians by the Pictish King Nechtan (founder of Abernethy) and the Feudal Church triumphant; but Professor Rhys proves this view to be erroneous.

Many historians have found it difficult to explain how the often warring Picts and Scots became united under Kenneth Macalpin, himself a Scot, in 843. Probably the Columban clergy had not a little to do with that union. "Kenneth," we read (*Celtic Britain*), "completed among other things the reinstating of the Columban clergy. It had been begun by Constantine when he gave Dunkeld to the family of Iona, but now a Church was built there for the relics of the founder St. Columba, and the abbot of Dunkeld was placed at the head of the Northern Church. All this had, no doubt, been well earned by the Columban clergy." Knowing how much Queen Margaret antagonised them by sympathising with the efforts to change the date of

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the Easter festival, and how for a time after her death the dynasty was overthrown, we can well imagine the craftsmen of the feudal Church employing the Easter symbol to emphasise their views.

Regarding the strange spectacle ornament, or double disc, which evidently represents some object in actual use in those days, the present writer was much struck by its resemblance to a large brooch-like ornament worn by the hermit-priest in Wagner's *Parsifal*, according as that opera was represented at Covent Garden Theatre early in 1914 by a company of the best German actors. On enquiry, I found that just such an ornament was often an article of dress of high ecclesiastics of the Church in Germany. I communicated my views on this point to a leading Scottish professor of Church history, and he told me that this particular ornament is known as the "Morse" or "biting brooch," and was employed to fasten the cope on the breast of the priest. My informant added that Germany borrowed her ecclesiastical robes directly from Italy. To establish the necessary connection between the Columban Church of our country and Germany, I may add that a very interesting legend of the Celtic period relates that S. Columba, flying over Rome, presented his pen to Pope Gregory the Great, and received from him a "Morse" which was subsequently treasured at Iona, both as a relic and as an ornament. The just inference from this curious legend would appear to be that some article of ecclesiastical dress of the "Morse" description, was actually worn by the saint, and perhaps by his numerous local bishops. We know that St. Cuthbert's comb was

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buried with him, whilst Kentigern's was long preserved among his relics ; and when we reflect that, of all the many hundreds of ecclesiastical bells that must have been in use in those days, but one or two have been found, I consider that the objection made to the above theory by a well-known Scottish archaeologist, who objects to it that no specimen of the " Morse " has yet been discovered in Scotland, is by no means one fatal to its tenability.

Among all the various permutations and combinations of the various symbols, the most common combination is that of the double disc, the Z-shaped rod, and the Mirror and Comb, these occurring, in combination, as many as thirteen times. Dr. Stuart (*Sculptural Stones*) was of the opinion that many of the symbols were personal ornaments, though he could not explain them further, and his finding agrees with Dr. Anderson's final conclusion, that the crosses were erected over the graves of revered ecclesiastics. This, indeed, may well be so ; but we know that some of these are found where battles took place in those far-off days, and in such instances the writer is of opinion that the symbols may be interpreted as being the trade-mark, as it were, of the Columban clergy, who erected them, or at all events superimposed their handiwork.

Some writers prefer to distinguish the rougher, and, presumably, earlier stones as " pre-Christian," and give as evidence in support of their contention the fact of the absence of the Cross on these particular stones, but this is no proof, as the Cross does not appear in Christian Art till the fifth century.

The present writer has no doubt that all the Sculp-

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ture is Christian in intention, though, of course, as I have previously stated, pagan symbols may well have been adapted so as to serve a Christian purpose.


Perhaps the foregoing attempt to elucidate the mystery of these memorials may appear all too simple to the antiquary, whose mind is intent upon a more complex solution. The "Nothing is known, sir, and nothing can be known" of Dr. Johnson, is Alpha and Omega with a certain class of antiquaries; but, after all, the true explanation of the matter is probably a simple one, seeing that the representations of this localised art must have been composed with a view to edifying rude men in an unlettered age. Edie Ochiltree and William Stumps were sound antiquaries as far as they went, and the writer is satisfied that, given sufficient research among the rather scanty literature and MS. illustrations of the period we have dealt with, the complete answer to the riddle propounded may yet be found.

JAMES FORSYTH.



The War and the Vote

[Here follows the conclusion of my translation of *An Cogadh agus an Guth-taghaidh* (The War and the Vote), by Aonghas Mac Eanruig. In a further paper, under a different title, the author discusses the financial aspect of the federative scheme he here adumbrates. A translation of this last will follow in due course.—Ed. *The Scottish Review*].

N my two last papers I endeavoured to show, firstly, that the Democracy does not enjoy that measure of power which is commonly ascribed to it ; and, secondly, I used general language touching the means to be employed by which Democracy might acquire that which it presently lacks. My present intention is to enter into some detail respecting the system or method of rule by adopting which Democracy should be able to possess itself of real power, as well as to ensure the simultaneous subsistence of a generous measure of political freedom. In other words, I am about to compose a new Constitution for Scotland ! Our political relations with England are certain to be changed after the war. It is only proper, therefore, that we should be seasonably prepared against the occurrence of just such a contingency as these observations are designed to take into account.

In going about to reflect on a matter of this kind,

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the first thing we must do is to purge our minds of pre-conceived opinions, to shun prejudice, and eschew cant. We are all too apt to chain ourselves to the feet of ruined idols—to ancient opinions and exploded customs. We are all too apt to think every old rule sound, and every patriarch a vigorous youth. Foolish and dangerous, too, is every new turn. Never, however, shall we make progress so long as conceits of this kind possess our minds. We must allow them free scope. To our faculty of judgment we must indulge the fullest exercise. We must regard communal and national affairs, not as our immediate forefathers were accustomed to do, but according as they are designed to serve our own interests in these our own days. That which passes is not that which suffices. England was ever too prone to fetter Imagination, and to place Custom in a glass-case. And we too, owing to the strength of that sort of communication which corrupts good manners, have come to do much the same things. I fear that we have too close and particular a regard for the ways, as for the affairs, of our neighbour. We are got to such a pass that no spectacles, save those of the Teuton, will satisfy us. It is ages and ages since we ceased to think for ourselves. Early and late our eye is on the everlasting "Empire"; and trifling is the glance that we condescend to bestow on Scotland. We are like folk that have been placed under spells; the Saxon rules us by silly charms and superstitions. We must rescue our minds from this contemptible thralldom. We must learn to exercise our own opinions, and to place confidence in our own judgment.

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There is another matter which we would do well to bear in mind. It is this, that Scotland is a Sovereign State, one of the partakers of the plenitude of power. It is in the light, and moved by the knowledge, of this supreme truth that we must proceed. For though the Act of 1707 deprived our country of her Parliament, nevertheless is her Sovereignty hers as much as ever it was ; and never can she be despoiled of it. Sovereignty is hers, just as much as it is England's, or any other State's, whose status in that respect is beyond question. When we come to address our minds to the consideration of events that will come to pass after the war, we must not lose sight of this important truth.

Of the divers known sorts of rule there is not the least doubt that, so far as the genius and situation of Scotland are concerned, Federation is the best we can adopt. This system was in use among the ancient Celts, and that it is the one that is best suited to the national temper and political circumstances of our people at the present day I am fully persuaded. But we must take good care that the Federal System adopted by us is truly laid, and nicely constructed. No mere make-shift will do the business ; and never must we be satisfied with the name without the substance. Scotland requires a full measure of Federation ; and if she gets not that, better it will be to remain without it. Half-measures are useless.

This particular system of rule was practised ages ago by other peoples, besides the Celts. In ancient Hellas, an union of this sort was in force among the tribes of Actolia as early as three hundred and twenty years before the coming of Christ, and that federation

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subsisted until the union with Rome. About the same time the Achæian tribes entered into a similar understanding, and that federation also endured until Greece was over-run and enslaved by the Roman empire. Between then and now, the system of rule to which I refer has been held in high esteem by divers progressive peoples, though certain of them have hitherto scrupled, or have not been allowed, to bring it to perfection.

Now, those that go about to draw up Constitutions for nations would do well to be ever mindful of two things. Of these, the first is, the national temper, circumstances, and genius of the people on whose behalf the Constitution is to be composed. By this I mean the popular circumstances and history, so far as these relate to the conduct of political affairs. Vain and foolish is the whim that would oblige a people to laws and regulations that have been conceived in a spirit contrary or disagreeable to that of the people on whose account they are composed. The second thing on which I beg leave to insist is, the simplicity and elasticity of the written Constitution. The Constitution must be easy to understand, and just as free of difficulty as regards the putting of it into execution. For, the simpler it is, the more easy will it be to remedy its defects, as soon as experience of its working shall have shown in what particular respects it is faulty and requires readjustment. In such written Constitutions as, before now, have been published to the world, we see that their framers too much neglected these two important points, and, largely, if not entirely, in consequence of that very neglect, failure, in room

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of success, has been the portion of many of them. To the second point I mentioned, due regard is no less necessary to be had. If we have two States, whose situation is alike, but one of which possesses an easy elastic Constitution whilst the other is burdened with one characterised by a different genius, it is easy to understand that the work of keeping the first in good order will be infinitely easier than that of preserving the second. In fine, regard we the matter how we may, nothing can be plainer than that the simpler and freer the Constitution the better. We must avoid Centralisation—that is to say the engrossing of powers into a few hands and one centre; for, as Lorimer says in his *Institutes*, "Centralisation is the high-road that leads to Caesarism." Let our State, then, be run on a simple and an elastic Constitution, and one that is justly proportioned to the genius and capabilities, needs, circumstances, and occasions, of the People.

In the United States and Canada we shall find the Federal method of rule brought to a high state of efficiency. In the former country, each separate State of which the Union is composed enjoys a large measure of autonomy. The superior Government takes control of all affairs that concern the country as a united and indivisible whole, such being the Post Office, the Law Courts, War and Peace, Foreign relations, and other services of a national, as opposed to a communal, nature. The number of the States is above fifty, and the relations between them are uniformly easy and cordial. The population of each State embraces 60,000 souls or more, and each State is ruled

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by its own Parliament. The High-Parliament, which sits at Washington, is composed of two Houses—the Senate and the Representatives. The former has over one hundred members—two for each State comprising the Union. These are chosen, every six years, by the Provincial Parliaments in accordance with an arrangement by virtue of which a third part vacate their seats every two years. In the House of Representatives there are near four hundred members, and each one of these represents on an average above 193,000 votes. The members are chosen by the People; and I may add that the original American Constitution was greatly admired by Talleyrand, Guizot, and many other competent judges, whose favourable opinion was engaged by a just sense of its simplicity and elasticity.

The Canadian Constitution somewhat resembles that of the United States, though the former has greater affinities to that which presently obtains in the Three Kingdoms. In Canada, each Province has its own Parliament; but the Supreme Legislature resembles in more ways than one the Legislature with which the inhabitants of these isles are most familiar. The Canadian Government is subject to the control of the Westminster Parliament. The members of the Senate are chosen by the Governor and his Council, and they retain their seats as long as they live. Each provincial group possesses the right to choose a certain number of Senators. The number of the Commons, which varies from time to time, does so according as changes take place affecting the numerical strength of the population. At the present moment that

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representation stands at something like 220, or one member for each 25,000 souls. The numerical strength of the Senate is now something above 80 members. The Governor, chosen by the King, is paid by the People. He and his Council constitute the body out of which the provincial governors are chosen. The Governor has the power to veto any bill that may be passed by the Canadian Supreme Legislature, but it is scarcely necessary to say that this prerogative is very rarely exercised. Further, the Westminster Parliament has the power to alter the Canadian Constitution, but it would be a rash assembly that should presume to attempt any such thing. In fine, truly and fearlessly may we affirm that the Land of Snows enjoys a full measure of Home Rule; and no power on earth is in the least degree likely to challenge its right to manage its own affairs as it may seem best to it to do so. The Supreme Legislature of Canada is elected every five, and the provincial legislatures every four, years. The great difference between the Constitution of the United States, and that of Canada is this, that the Supreme Canadian Legislature keeps in its own hands entire control of the administration of the criminal laws, marriage laws, selection of judges, and conduct of the national militia, whilst in the United States, on the other hand, the management of these things is left to the various States.

Let us now turn to Scotland. For my part, I think that Scotland would be well circumstanced and happily governed, if she had a Constitution something like that of Canada. It is scarcely necessary to say that our provincial legislatures should be subject to

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all suitable control on the part of the High Parliament sitting at Edinburgh. It should be incumbent on the High Parliament to choose (out of its own number) the delegates that should represent Scotland on the Imperial Council, which last, everyone seems to be pretty well agreed, should have control of the Imperial Army and the Imperial Fleet, Foreign Relations, and Declarations of War and Peace. Apart from these "reserved services," as it is the fashion to style them, the Imperial Council should possess no power (legislative or executive) whatsoever. I suggest that the Imperial Council should be composed of three delegates or representatives for England, two for Scotland, the same number for Ireland, one for Wales, one each for the greater Dominions and Colonies, and one for India.

With regard to the High Parliament of Scotland, I suggest that this body be composed of members chosen by the suffrages of the inhabitants of the various Provinces, the people of each Province electing, let us say, seven representatives. This arrangement would give us about 90 members for the High Parliament. I suggest, further, that each member should receive a salary of about £500 *per annum*. Besides the rural districts, I suggest that the great cities should also have the right to return members to the High Parliament. I suggest that each town possessing a population of over 100,000 persons should enjoy this privilege—one representative for every 100,000 souls. The High Parliament should be elected every four years.

Touching the election of the Provincial Parliaments, I suggest that each Province be divided into forty

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parts. Each of these parts, whether great or small in size, should be proportioned according to the numbers of the people inhabiting them, so that wherever there is a dense population the area should be small, and wherever the reverse is the case, the division should be large. As far as may be found practicable, the divisions should equalise one another as regards the number of persons residing in them respectively. Each division into which the Province is divided should choose a single representative, whose expenses should be reimbursed him out of the common purse of the Province—that is to say, the charges (travelling expenses, board and lodging, and so forth) involved by the discharge of his parliamentary duties should be made good to the delegate, in the manner mentioned above.

When that which I have here ventured to outline shall have come to pass—and for my part I think that as sure as there is a sun in the heavens, come to pass it will—what sort of a political structure will confront us in Scotland? In the first place, there would be the County Councils, which would exist precisely as they do at the present day. Secondly, there would be the Parish Councils, which also would be preserved under the new Constitution, only it would be desirable that the members of those bodies should be paid their travelling expenses, and those incurred by them during the time of their attendance to their duties. Thirdly, there would be the Provincial Parliaments, which should be constituted somewhat as I have proposed, and, finally, there would be the High-Parliament of Scotland, whose seat would be the capital.

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Now, out of these various particulars there arises the important question of "On what basis should the suffrage be placed as regards the exercise of the vote in connection with the election of members to the Provincial Parliaments and to the High Parliament?" On what foundation should the right and privilege of electing delegates to those bodies be erected? Everyone, irrespective of sex, that is come of age, and that is capable of exercising the vote in an intelligent manner, should possess it. In my previous papers¹ I showed that it is repugnant to the genius and temper of the Celtic peoples to penalise sex by refusing the vote to women. Whatever may be the event of the present agitation in England, in Scotland we shall, in this respect, mete out to women the same measure which shall be meted out to men.

I have said that the vote should be the right and privilege of all that are of full age, irrespective of sex, and that are capable of exercising the vote in an intelligent manner. *And that are capable of exercising the vote in an intelligent manner!* In this latter respect, am I propounding any new gospel, or formulating any fresh command? Under the political system under which we presently live, it is bullion, and not brains, that confers the vote. Apparently, the flights of English imagination are limited to dreams of avarice. Gold and Silver and Stock, Stock and Silver and Gold—behold the Three Verities that compose the sufficient Englishman's creed! Does he not think that, if a man

¹ For these passages, however, the reader is referred to the original Gaelic. Owing to exigencies of space, I was reluctantly obliged to omit them in my translation.—Ed. *The Scottish Review*.

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is well endowed with the goods of this world, such an one has but to put his hands into his pocket and straightway his head will be as well lined as his purse? And greatly is he encouraged to set great store by his goods. But, as for the man that carries an empty hand, they will not give him even a hammer to knock limpets from the rocks.¹ The lowest seat at every table is *his* portion, whether he seek it or not. Truly, Adam Smith was not far wrong when he styled the English a "Nation of Shopkeepers." So they are, so they were, and so will they ever be.

What qualifications, then, should attach to that person that is empowered by State to exercise the vote? How would the Celts adjust the incidence of that privilege, if they now were what they wish, and intend, soon to be—an independent people? The answer to that question is, that the properest test (and the test the Celts would certainly fall on) is one of education and general culture. Any other test ought not to be tolerated; for, without a reasonable measure of education, no person can reasonably be expected to exercise the vote to any good effect, unless he chance to exercise it in accordance with the judgment of some one that is better circumstanced (culturally) than he himself is. For my part, I am loath to see my country in the hands of an ignorant electorate. I deny not that a man may be intelligent and sensible without being a scholar; but I affirm that of no man that is not well-educated is it reasonable to expect a sound and a broad way of thinking politically. Therefore,

¹ In times of scarcity in the Western Isles limpets are eaten when food fails. Hence this image.—Ed. *The Scottish Review*.

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instead of making the incidence of the vote dependent on the possession of pelf, I would make it dependent on the possession of brains. Every person, irrespective of sex, that is come of full age, should have it, provided he or she possess the necessary amount of knowledge.¹ In other words, every one in the State should have the vote that is able to say that, when he or she left school, they did so carrying away with them such a stock of knowledge as the State required of them, in order to the exercise of the vote. Such a rule or law would be by no means difficult to establish; and once the man should get the vote, with him it would remain to the end of his days, unless he should commit some crime to which it were but proper to attach, besides the usual pains and penalties, that of disfranchisement. Thus, no one that is come of age would be without the vote, if we except those that possess not learning and intelligence enough to qualify them in order to its proper exercise. If this arrangement obtained, the

¹ So far as Belgium is concerned, our author's ingenious proposal has been already, in a measure, forestalled. Under the *Code Electoral Belge* of 1883 (Sec. Prov. and Communal Law), provision is therein made for attaching the franchise not only to property, but to proved capacity in all its manifestations, the intention of the law being to confer the vote not simply on they who contribute a certain amount to the revenue, but on any man who has taken honours at a High School, or at a College, on everybody who can pass an examination with credit, and on any foreman of a workshop or factory. Thus the principle of the reform for which Aonghas Mac Eanruig here pleads has already secured public recognition and approval on the part of a highly progressive modern State. But to abolish the money qualification altogether, to give women the vote, and to impose a general educational and cultural test, would appear to be the true Democratic solution of the problem.—Ed. *The Scottish Review*.

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electorate would harbour fewer ill-educated and unintelligent persons than it does at present ; the dignity of the suffrage itself would be greatly enhanced ; and the English system of turning out blockheads merely for political majority purposes would be overthrown among us. Our own system would be agreeable to that of the ancient Celts, among whom the man, and not his possessions, was the first consideration. The English plan, on the other hand, is plainly Teutonic in genius—it exalts wealth, and does not care a rap for the man.

I must dwell yet a little longer on this point. No one should have more than one vote. Under the old Celtic dispensation, the man whose possessions exceeded those of his neighbour did not, for that reason, enjoy more voice in the affairs of his country than was allowed to his less well-circumstanced countryman. But, according to the English plan, one man may have many votes. Though he cannot give but one vote to a single candidate, yet may he lawfully give many votes to many candidates, if he owns a house, a shop, or land in divers shires, or in many constituencies. If a man should be desirous and able to afford to rent, or own, a house here and there, up and down, throughout the constituencies that are to be found in these Kingdoms, it is possible, for that single man to have more than 600 votes. Which means, that it is possible for a single individual to have and to hold six-hundred-fold more political power than is indulged the ordinary voter. This arrangement is neither just nor seemly ; and under a democratic system of government it could not be tolerated for a moment. Though a man should

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be as rich as Solomon, he should not be allowed to go through the door of a polling-booth, unless he has passed the common cultural test. Neither should any man be suffered to have more than one vote.

A matter with which I must not forget here to deal is, the system of trading that Scotland should adopt as soon as we shall have reasserted our national independence. Should we cleave to Free Trade or embrace Protection? During the later lifetime of Mr. Chamberlain, we were near deafened by the noise of those that chorused the virtues of Tariff Reform, as a means to improve the trade of England and the Empire (whether or not Tariff Reform would suit the trade of Scotland being evidently quite a negligible consideration). That cry died down somewhat when Mr. Chamberlain's health broke, and he retired from public life; but, lately, it has been raised again, and, apparently, there are those that will leave no stone unturned to bring it about. Although he is a member of the Labour Party, yet they have converted Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, to Protection! And when he was here, in these Kingdoms, not very long ago, he got an uncommon warm reception from the landlords, and the monied interest generally. The landlords and the monied interest soon awoke to the fact that Hughes has eloquence, besides being zealous and pushing; and hardly would they allow the poor fellow to go home again. From town to town, and from village to village, they escorted, pursued, acclaimed, and preached him—he playing “your grateful humble servant’s” usual part by chanting the gospel of Tariff Reform in the ears of as many as would

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listen to him. Another person that they have recently converted is one Hodge, who was lately dragged from obscurity to be a Labour Minister to the Crown. This individual has neither eloquence, nor any kind of personal weight, and in no imaginable connection is he worth troubling about. I have merely mentioned him to show that the disciples of the late Mr. Chamberlain are busy looking to their bows and arrows.

Protection would never suit Scotland; and no Scottish Parliament is in the least degree likely to meddle with it. Tariffs do not advantage trade, or benefit wages. And this is easily proved if we consider the commercial situation of our own country in comparison with that of others. We are often told that here, as in other matters, we should follow the example of the Germans. There are those that ask us to do just as do France and the United States. We are told that the trade of those countries was, at the outbreak of war, growing like the rashes, but we ought not to be content with vague language of that kind. We ought to be content with nothing less than plain proof, supplied in black and white. Let us consider the amount and the aggregate value of the trade that entered the various Kingdoms, and, also, the amount and value of every Tariff raised therein. By comparing one thing with the other, we shall be able to see what the Tariff works out at by way of *per cent.* value of the divers sorts of merchandise trafficked in. The same method will also show us the value of each country's trade considered in relation to the numerical strength of its population—that is to say, *per capitum*; and the same method will further show us that there

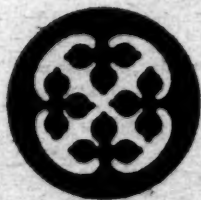
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is not much profit in a Tariff. For the purpose of our illustration, we will consider the cases of Russia, the United States, Germany, France, the Three Kingdoms, Belgium, and Holland. Before the war, Russia was imposing a Tariff at the rate of 35 *per cent.* on the value of the goods she imported ; the United States, 26 *per cent.* ; France, 8½ *per cent.* ; the Three Kingdoms, 6 *per cent.* ; Belgium, 2 *per cent.* ; and Holland, ½ *per cent.* ; Now, these conditions were responsible for the following results. The trade of Russia, which was imposing a 35 *per cent.* Tariff, amounted to £1 10/- per head of her population ; that of the United States, with a 26 *per cent.* Tariff, to £7 per head of the population ; that of Germany, with an 8½ *per cent.* Tariff, to £12 per head of the population ; that of France, with an 8½ *per cent.* Tariff, to £12 per head of the population ; that of these Kingdoms, with a Tariff amounting to 6 *per cent.*, to £22 per head of the population ; that of Belgium, having a Tariff as low as 2 *per cent.*, to £50 per head of the population ; and that of Holland, with the lowest Tariff of all, to as much as £73 per head of the population. It would be easy to produce twenty other proofs, establishing the unsuitability of Protection for Scotland and for Scotsmen. Never will we part with Free Trade—interprovincial trade will be prosecuted in accordance with its principles, and so will be that between Scotland and foreign countries.

In concluding these papers, I beg leave to observe that all questions affecting the Scottish Constitution and its working should be determined either by the Supreme Courts (as is the case in the United States), or, alternatively, by the High Parliament sitting at

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Edinburgh. The topics of which I have treated in these papers are neither remote nor trifling. Federation is coming: the hour of its advent approaches, and no power on earth can stay its progress.





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